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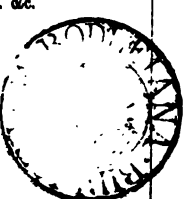
Men of the Time.

# BRITISH STATESMEN:

LIVES OF

ABERDEEN—RUSSELL—PALMERSTON—
GRAHAM—GLADSTONE, &c. &c.



Great men have been amongst us,
Hands that penn'd, and lips that utter'd, wisdom,—
Better none.

WORDSWORTH.

LONDON:
T. NELSON AND SONS, PATERNOSTER ROW;
AND EDINBURGH.

MDCCCLIV.

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# PREFACE.

AMONG the remarkable political events which have recently transpired in this country, few are more characteristic of the rapid progress of opinion in recent years than the formation of a Ministry comprising in it nearly all the men of most distinguished talent who have borne a share in those political contests which have finally led to the reconstruction of the British governing and legislating bodies in accordance with the ancient theory of the Constitution.

This remarkable coalition Ministry is now in power, and its existence is regarded by many as marking a great epoch in the political history of our country, in which the old barriers of class and party rivalry are seen to have at length given way, superseded entirely by the new and purer principles of an age of progress.

It is believed that, at such a period, a series of Biographical and Historical Sketches of the Members of the Government cannot fail to be valued as an acceptable contribution to our current literature, and a permanent record of an event which will probably hereafter take a prominent place in the history of British politics. The work has been prepared with care, and, it is confidently believed, will be found to contain an accurate and impartial sketch of all the distinguished Members of the Administration, now united under the Earl of Aberdeen in conducting the Government of the British Empire.

LONDON, *April* 18, 1853.

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# THE BRITISH CABINET

# IN 1853.

## THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

GEORGE HAMILTON GORDON, fourth Earl of Aberdeen, Viscount Formartin, Baron Haddo, Methlic, Tarves, and Kellie, all in the Scottish peerage, created in 1682, and first Viscount Gordon of Aberdeen, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, created in 1814, was born at Edinburgh in 1784. His father, Lord Haddo, died before he succeeded to the peerage, and the present Earl himself succeeded to the honours of the family while yet a minor, on the death of his grandfather in 1801. The family is a very ancient one, having branched off from the Dukes of Gordon at an early period, though, owing to the imperfection of the family records, which were in great measure dispersed or destroyed during the troubles in the north and wars of the Covenant, the exact period cannot be ascertained. Up to that time the representatives of the house bore themselves stoutly and bravely, as became feudal barons in those days, fighting occasionally for the king, and obtaining their share in those forfeitures and confiscations which pressed so heavily upon the fortunes of the Scottish barons, in the turbulent annals of the Scottish kingdom. In the year 1640, the family was represented by Sir John

Gordon of Haddo, who earned the baronetcy from Charles I., by his bravery and conduct at the battle of Turriff, in 1642. In the following year he defended the house of Kellie against the Covenanters, but, overborne by numbers, he was forced to capitulate, and was carried off prisoner to Edinburgh, where he was lodged for security in a portion of the nave of St Giles' Cathedral there, from whence he was, in 1644, dragged to the market cross, and beheaded. The place of his imprisonment has since been marked off as a separate church —the Cathedral being divided into three such churches —and till very recently the church prison was known by the common people of Edinburgh as "Haddo's Hole."

In accordance with the unrelenting rancour with which both parties pursued their opponents at that time, Sir John Gordon was not only put to death, but all his estates were forfeited. They were restored to his family, however, on the restoration of Charles II., and the honour and reputation of the house was carried higher than ever, by Sir George Gordon of Haddo, who was created Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, with the Scottish titles we have enumerated, in 1682. He resigned his office before the Revolution, to which, according to the old Tory principles of the family, he was no friend, and he retired to his seat in the country to avoid taking the oaths of allegiance to King William. On the ascension of Queen Anne, however, he took the oaths and his seat in Parliament, where he was one of the opponents of the Union. He died in 1720 at the age of eighty-three.

His descendants soon mellowed down from the Tory principles of their ancestors sufficiently to become good friends to the Revolution settlement, and even so far conformed to the temper of the times that they abandoned the Episcopal form of religion, for which stout old Sir John had suffered and died, and joined the Presbyterian Church, of which the present Earl is a consci-

entious member, being the first Prime Minister of England since the Revolution that has not been a member of the Episcopal Church.

The Earl was sent to Harrow School, where, a few years afterwards, his future colleague and chief, Sir Robert Peel, also entered. He removed in due course to St John's College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of M.A. in 1804. But he did not spend the whole of those years in college; on the contrary, having succeeded to the title by the death of his father while yet a minor, the Earl proceeded in 1801 on a course of continental travel. Had this occurred a few years before, it is probable that the young lord would have proceeded on what was then popularly known as "the grand tour," that is to say, an excursion through the principal parts of France, Italy, and Germany, without visiting which it was then hardly thought that a young Englishman's education could be complete. But at this period war was raging on the Continent, which sealed those countries against the intrusion of the inhabitants of the British islands, and compelled them either to remain at home, or to seek other scenes for the gratification of their travelling propensities. Lord Aberdeen chose the latter alternative, and before he had attained his twentieth year, he proceeded on a tour through the classic lands of Greece, thus setting the example which Lord Byron afterwards imitated, though in his usual mocking humour he ridiculed the fashion which he had been fain to follow. He spent some time in that country, visiting the scenes which had impressed his imagination in the course of his studies, and drinking deep of the inspiration which they were fitted to impart. How deeply he entered into the associations connected with these lands, breathing as they did the spirit of freedom, as well as the air of a classic and refined taste, may be gathered from the fact that, on his return to his own country, he founded the Athenian Society, the funda-

mental condition of which was that no one should be a member who had not visited Greece. In fact, for the time, Greece seemed with his lordship to be a mania—the subject of all his studies—the test in his mind of the talent of his contemporaries; and this it was probably which prompted Lord Byron to give him a place in his "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," in the well-known lines descriptive of the writers in the *Edinburgh Review*:—

> "First in the oat-fed phalanx shall be seen
> The travell'd thane, Athenian Aberdeen."

It may seem strange that the young Tory nobleman should be coupled with the coadjutors of the great northern organ of Whiggism; but the fact was that his lordship had been induced to write a review of Gell's *Topography of Troy*, which shewed great knowledge of the subject, and evinced to what excellent uses his lordship had turned his travels; and this one fact was quite enough to induce Lord Byron, who was then running a muck against every one that had acquired distinction in the country, to drag Lord Aberdeen within the reach of his savage muse.

All his contemporaries did not regard him with the same contempt. His talents and accomplishments had long before this time made a strong impression upon those of his countrymen who were best qualified to form an opinion; and in 1806, at the general election which ensued on the accession of the Whigs to office, which they held for so short a period, his lordship was elected one of the sixteen representative peers which Scotland is entitled by the Articles of Union to send to Parliament. In our days this is not reckoned a very high honour, for there are now so many of the ancient nobility of Scotland who have been also called to the honours of the British peerage—his lordship himself among the rest—that there are not many more than

the "sixteen" who are without British titles. But in 1806 it was otherwise. The leading statesmen only, or those families who had long played a conspicuous part in the history of both countries, possessed English titles as well as Scottish ones; the candidates for the Scottish election were consequently numerous, and it argued no little merit in the youthful nobleman to have earned for himself, in his twenty-second year, the votes of a majority of his compeers. The honour once gained was never afterwards lost. He retained the confidence of his constituents till it pleased his sovereign to take him out of the list of simple Scottish peers, by conferring on him the title in the British peerage of Viscount Gordon.

When Lord Aberdeen entered political life, the prevailing opinions of the day were what we are now accustomed to call High Toryism. The Whig party, which had been in the ascendant from the accession of the house of Hanover till the beginning of the reign of George III., had from that latter period been condemned to a long exclusion from influence and office, and the breaking out of the French Revolution, with all the horrors and atrocities consequent upon that event, had still farther weakened the party, by detaching from it various influential names, who, frightened by the overthrow of throne and aristocracy, believed that it was the duty of all good subjects to combine in order to stay the rushing torrent of democracy. It is true, that just at the period of Lord Aberdeen's entrance into Parliament, a gleam of prosperity opened upon the Whig party, by Mr Fox and Lord Grenville being called to power on the death of Mr Pitt; but the decease of the great Whig statesman speedily followed that of his rival; and George III., taking advantage of some misunderstanding on the subject of the Roman Catholic claims, dismissed the Grey and Grenville ministry, which had been reconstructed on Mr Fox's death, and restored the Tories to office with the Duke of Portland as Prime

Minister, and Mr Spencer Perceval as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Up to this time there had been good hope of the Roman Catholic question being amicably settled. The advent of this ministry was the occasion of the public mind being excited on the question, and of a prejudice being roused on the subject, which did not subside for more than twenty years afterwards. It would be vain to deny that the public mind at that time sided with the Tories and against the Whigs, both on the question of the Catholic claims, and on the subject of the war with Bonaparte, which also formed a ground of quarrel between the two parties, whatever might have been the feeling in the country in 1789. When the Revolution first broke out, it is undeniable that the abolition of the nobility, the imprisonment and the decapitation of the king, and the reign of terror which was inaugurated under Robespierre, had filled the minds of all men of property with dread and detestation of the conduct of the French, and with a determination never to make peace with a party that was capable of such atrocities. When Robespierre and his coadjutors were put down, and Napoleon attained to the foremost place in the French nation, his grasping ambition, and his evident determination to subject all the kingdoms of Europe to his sway, had much the same effect upon the popular mind in England, and the war was popular throughout the whole country. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the Earl of Aberdeen, sprung as he was from a family that had already signalised itself in his native country by opposition to the popular will, should have identified himself with the current opinions of the day, and become a firm supporter of the Perceval ministry. He did not at once, however, assume a prominent position in the House. A certain modesty and retiring disposition prevented him at first, as it has prevented him ever since, from intruding himself upon his compeers more than was absolutely neces-

sary. Hence he remained for about five years in the House without taking any other part than supporting by his vote the policy which he approved. At the beginning of the session in the year 1811, however, he was chosen by the ministry of the day to move the address in the House of Lords, in answer to the Prince Regent's speech. This, we believe, was the first occasion on which Lord Aberdeen ventured to address their lordships.

From that period his talents attracted the notice of the Government, and accordingly we find him two years afterwards employed in the diplomatic service of his country, and a task of considerable delicacy allotted to him, which shews the confidence that was even then reposed in him. The disastrous issue of Bonaparte's Russian invasion, which had taken place in the preceding year, coupled with the uninterrupted success of Lord Wellington in Spain, began to inspire those who had hitherto most despaired of European independence with the hope that after all it would be possible, by a combined effort, to shake the great conqueror from his dominion, and to free the world from his power. Already Russia and Prussia had entered into a league, offensive and defensive, against the French Emperor. England had never ceased her opposition when all other powers succumbed, and was not behind hand in the new combination; but it was still felt that the work was not complete unless Austria also should be included in the European Confederation. This, however, was a task that was not easily to be accomplished. Twice or thrice already had Austria been prostrated by the astonishing victories of Bonaparte, and compelled to accept peace on his own terms; and on the last occasion the peace had been ratified and confirmed by the marriage of the emperor with a daughter of the imperial house. That alliance was still recent—it was hardly to be expected that the Emperor Francis would at once

risk the safety of the dominions that yet remained to him, and perpetrate the scandal in the face of Europe, of entering into a combination for the purpose of going to war with his own son-in-law. At the same time it was known that the emperor bore with ill-disguised reluctance the loss of territory, and the various nameless humiliations that he had been compelled to endure at the hands of his imperious relation, and that his subjects bore still less patiently the indignities which French invasion had inflicted on them. It was thought, therefore, that a discreet diplomatist would have great influence in detaching Austria from the French alliance, and banding her with the rest of the European powers against the disturber of the general peace. This was the task for which Lord Aberdeen was selected, and the manner in which he executed it did credit, not only to his own abilities, but to the discernment of the ministry who sent him. For a long time indeed Austria hesitated to take a decided step. She mustered her armies indeed, but she proclaimed her wish to take up a neutral position, and to mediate, if possible, between the contending parties. It was with this view that Metternich was sent to negotiate with the French Emperor. He proposed, on the part of his master, to mediate for a general peace, on condition that France should hold all the countries to the Rhine to the north-east, and Savoy to the south-east. The offer was rejected with disdain, as Bonaparte determined not to give up the possessions he had acquired north of the Rhine. It is said that Metternich, who shared in the general anxiety of his countrymen for a renewal of the war, was not displeased to witness this display of imperial obstinacy, and that he took little pains to overcome it. In fact, it is surmised that in his diplomatic intercourse with Napoleon, he proceeded not altogether without an understanding with the young English ambassador—it being agreed on both sides that, if Napoleon refused

to listen to their proposal, Austria should join the allies. The terms were more favourable than France obtained afterwards, but the lion spirit of Napoleon was not then sufficiently humbled to accept of the conditions offered him; he rejected them with a scorn which was doubtless calculated on, both by Prince Metternich and Lord Aberdeen, and Austria immediately afterwards joined the allies. The earl remained in attendance on the Austrian Emperor, with few exceptions, till the conclusion of the war, and accompanied the advance of the Austrian army to Paris, where he signed the Treaty of Peace on behalf of England, on the first of June 1814. His residence abroad at that time afforded him ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with the policy and resources of Austria and other foreign states, of which he made excellent use, and which qualified him in after years for the arduous post of Minister for Foreign Affairs. It was at this time also that he made his acquaintance with Metternich and other statesmen who subsequently rose to supreme power in Germany, and there is little doubt that his connexions with these ministers of absolute power, gave a colouring to the policy which Lord Aberdeen, as Foreign Minister of England, felt it his duty to pursue.

But this was not the only diplomatic service on which Lord Aberdeen was employed at that eventful period. When the Emperor of Austria was fairly committed to the alliance, the British Government, delighted at the skill with which their Austrian minister had detached one of Napoleon's relations from alliance with him, resolved to employ him in the same delicate operation with regard to another. In mapping out Europe as so many kingdoms for the members of his family, Napoleon had bestowed Naples upon Marshal Murat, who had married the emperor's favourite sister, Caroline. Murat was one of the most brilliant officers in the grand army; his feats of gallantry were the theme of constant admir-

ation, but his merits were entirely confined to his conduct in battle; he was vain, weak, and vacillating, and he was utterly unacquainted with political affairs. Great as his military services had undoubtedly been, his vanity led him to fancy that even a kingdom, fettered with the conditions which Napoleon took care to impose, was an inadequate reward for them; and it was known that he had no sooner been settled on his throne than he began to murmur against the power which placed him there. It was thought, therefore, that in the general defection from the French Emperor of all who had been dependent upon him in his prosperity, the new King of Naples would not be behind hand, and the Earl of Aberdeen was intrusted with the task of persuading him to forsake his old master, in return for which the quiet possession of his kingdom was to be guaranteed to him. After much hesitation and vacillation, Murat was at last persuaded to declare for the allies; and by marching his army against Eugene Beauharnois, the emperor's vicegerent in Italy, who was at the same time attacked by the Austrians from the north, Bonaparte was left to continue his death-struggle in Germany without the reinforcements which he might otherwise have derived from Italy. Lord Aberdeen's mission was, therefore, successful in inducing Murat to desert Bonaparte at that eventful period of his fate; but when, in 1814, Napoleon escaped from Elba, and again raised the standard of defiance against the powers of combined Europe, Murat was no longer to be restrained by the temperate councils of Lord Aberdeen, who strove in vain to keep him steadfast to the cause of the allies, and to merit the permanent possession of his new kingdom.

In the shower of honours which, at the peace, fell upon all who had taken part in the war, whether in a military or diplomatic capacity, Lord Aberdeen was not forgotten. Hitherto he had only been a peer of Scot-

land, and consequently sat in the British Parliament as one of the sixteen representative peers. He was now raised to the British peerage by the title of Viscount Gordon of Aberdeen, by which title he now sits in the House of Lords.

It is more remarkable that his talents, which had been so signally proved in the delicate and important negotiations which he had been intrusted to conduct, were not anew called into the service of the country. From 1815 down to the year 1828, the Earl of Aberdeen remained without public employment, though his friends were for the greater part of the time in power. One reason for this is doubtless to be found in the retired habits of the noble earl, which have through life restrained him from taking the prominent part in public affairs his great attainments entitled him to do. The charm which he found in domestic society abundantly satisfied him. He married, soon after he came of age, the daughter of the first Marquis of Abercorn. That lady died in 1812, and it is reasonable to suppose that grief for her loss furnished no small motive in inducing him to seek refuge in the bustle of active life, and in the novelty of foreign scenes, which his diplomatic mission afforded. In 1815 he married a second time, the object of his choice being the widow of Viscount Hamilton, and mother of the present Marquis of Abercorn. It is very probable that the domestic enjoyments which were thus opened to him, made him less heedful of the stormy scenes which were taking place in political life about the same time. It is well known that the peace which was ushered in by the decisive battle of Waterloo was no sooner established, than the English people began to give expression to the dissatisfaction with which they had long regarded the conduct of affairs. The taxes which had been imposed for the prosecution of the war had been borne impatiently enough, but still in the hope that the return of peace would free

them from these heavy burdens. When peace came, however, it was found that many of the war taxes were still to be kept up, while the cessation of war involved also the cessation of many branches of commerce, of which, till now, England possessed the monopoly. But more than this, the old ideas of parliamentary reform, which had been fostered on their first appearance by such men as Pitt and the Duke of Richmond, but which had been checked by the disastrous course taken by the French Revolution, now resumed their full sway over the minds of the people. They could no longer, however, as formerly, count upon the sympathy of their rulers. The upper classes were thoroughly frightened by the turbulent scenes arising from the excesses of an unrestrained democracy that had passed almost before their eyes in France. They clung to the idea of authority as the true secret of government; and they saw in the smallest concession to the popular will the advent of anarchy and bloodshed. The Goverment of the day shared in the same feeling, and they stood prepared to resist with a strong hand every attempt made by the people at large to obtain, even in the most legitimate manner, a redress of their grievances. On the Continent similar scenes were enacted on a still wider scale. The people, both in Prussia and Austria, had been stimulated by their sovereigns to take up arms in the cause of national independence, by the promise that when the soil of their fatherland was freed from the foot of a foreign invader, a constitutional government should be inaugurated as the reward of their courage and fidelity. Animated by these hopes, the people everywhere flew to arms; but when they had performed their part of the contract to the letter, the promised reward was withheld. The Continent was ruled on more absolute principles than ever, and the people found that all their heroic sacrifices had been made in vain. Foremost among the admirers of these royal

breaches of faith was the celebrated diplomatist, Prince Metternich, who, from that time forward, became the confidential adviser of Francis, Emperor of Austria. An alliance, denominated the Holy, was formed between Austria, Russia, and Prussia, the scarcely disguised object of which was that each power should lend assistance to the other in wars of internal dissension in their dominions, as well as to keep the other nations of Europe from quarrelling with the monarchs imposed upon them at the Congress of Vienna. Though England was not a party to this treaty, yet Lord Castlereagh, who was then at the head of affairs, signified his concurrence in the objects to be attained; and it has generally been believed that Lord Aberdeen, though in a private capacity, gave his hearty concurrence to the same scheme. Indeed, there are few things which more strikingly mark the progress made by statesmen of all classes in this country since the period referred to, than to contrast the Earl of Aberdeen of 1815 with the Earl of Aberdeen of 1853.

This system of repression, by which the Continent was held enchained, was broken in upon by the foreign ministry of George Canning, who, though serving under a Tory ministry, was the first to abandon the harsh, unyielding, and unpopular policy of that party. By the system he pursued, the influence of the Holy Alliance was effectually crippled, and a line of policy adopted in relation to the eventful changes which afterwards took place on the Continent, such as averted the risk of their involving Europe in a general war. The policy which he pursued was little acceptable to many of the Tories who had been trained up in the school of Perceval and Castlereagh, but the Earl of Liverpool, who was then prime minister, was weak and indolent, and allowed his own wishes to be overborne by the energetic genius of his subordinate. Hence it was, that though complaints were numerous, there

was no schism in the party till the illness and subsequent death of Lord Liverpool, in 1826, broke up the Cabinet, of which he had for several years been the nominal head. Then was made visible to all men the rent which had been going on for years, and gradually weakening the great Tory party which for more than two generations had swayed the destinies of England. Canning was called to the premiership; the greater number of his colleagues, and among them such influential men as the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, refused to serve under him, and the great majority of the Tories approved of their decision by at once going into opposition. There was nothing left for Canning but to throw himself into the arms of the Whigs, who, with a few exceptions—the most prominent among the dissentients being the great Earl Grey—came to his side, and their leaders accepted office under him. Among the members of the Tory party who crowded to the opposition side of the House on Canning becoming prime minister, was the Earl of Aberdeen, thus testifying that up to that period he had not adopted those principles of Liberalism which had begun to leaven his party, and which, in after years, were destined to work such remarkable changes upon them, and upon him not the least.

Canning died in 1827, having held the office of premier not quite six months, too short a period to measure his capacity for ruling the people of England. After a feeble and abortive attempt on the part of his Cabinet to maintain themselves in office under the presidence of Lord Goderich (the present Earl of Ripon), the idea was given up as hopeless. The Cabinet dissolved itself without venturing to face Parliament; in the beginning of 1848, the Duke of Wellington, for the first and last time, became prime minister of England, and it was under his auspices that the Earl of Aberdeen made his *début* in official life. No surer evidence of the high

estimation in which the great though unobtrusive merits of Lord Aberdeen were held by that keen discerner of character can be given than the fact, that, though new to official life, the duke at once intrusted to his keeping the highest offices of state. At first, indeed, he was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; but, before many months had elapsed, a change took place, and Lord Aberdeen was installed in the office by which, it is probable, he will be best known in history, that of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The office at that time was no sinecure. He had scarcely been installed in it when he found himself in a position singularly embarrassing and disagreeable—that of having to apologise for and accept the responsibility of transactions which his predecessors had authorised, but of which he did not approve—we allude to the "untoward affair" of the battle of Navarino.

For several years previous to the time of which we are now speaking, there had been waged a feeble and languishing war by the Turks against the Greeks, who, after long years of oppression, had at length revolted from the Moslem sway. There was neither valour nor skill in the conduct of the war on either side; but, on the other hand, the most extreme cruelty was practised by both parties upon the wretched prisoners who fell into their hands. Tedious and inconclusive as the war had been, the advantages, on the whole, inclined to the side of the Greeks; and the other powers of Europe were sufficiently inclined to allow the insurgents to fight out their own independence, till the Sultan, finding his own efforts to reduce his rebellious subjects ineffectual, called to his aid his powerful vassal, Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, whose forces, both military and naval, far surpassed in discipline and efficiency those of Turkey. The Greeks were unable to make head against the strong reinforcements that were thus brought against them, and their submission

appeared to be inevitable, when the great powers of Europe—England, France, and Russia—entered into a convention to secure the independence of the classic land. This was in the premiership of Canning, and under his auspices the three powers sent forth a conjoined fleet, which it was thought would overawe the Turkish and Egyptian forces from proceeding to farther extremities. The fleet, under the command of Sir Edward Codrington, found the Turkish fleet anchored in the Bay of Navarino; and as the alleged demonstration did not frighten the Turks as was expected, the bluff old admiral at once proceeded to blows, entered the bay, engaged, and in a very short time annihilated the fleet which the Turks had been at such pains and expense to fit out. The news of this engagement was received with great enthusiasm in England; and if the Canning ministry had remained in office, there is no doubt that enthusiasm would have been echoed by the Government: but the Duke of Wellington and his Foreign Secretary, Lord Aberdeen, looked very coldly on the whole affair, and in the royal speech with which the session of that year was inaugurated the battle was described as "an untoward event"—a phrase which gave great offence at the time, and became the subject of general ridicule. The ministry, however, carried out the engagements into which their predecessors had entered, and the independence of Greece was secured.

Another case which still more strikingly illustrated the coldness and apathy with which Lord Aberdeen at that time looked upon the struggles of the people on the Continent to secure for themselves the advantages of constitutional government, occurred soon afterwards. One consequence of the Peninsular war had been, that the royal family of Portugal, having fled before Junot's invasion of their country, and taken refuge in their magnificent colony of Brazil, it had been subse-

quently settled that, on the death of the reigning monarch, Brazil should be separated from its dependence on Portugal, and erected into a separate state, under the title of the empire of Brazil; that the king's eldest son, Don Pedro, should remain emperor; and that the kingdom of Portugal should be conferred on his daughter, Donna Maria, on condition that she should marry her uncle, Don Miguel, a dispensation of the Pope to be obtained for that object; and that Portugal itself should be favoured with a constitution. These terms were amicably arranged, and apparently agreed to by all parties. But Don John of Portugal having died about this time, when the scheme was to be carried into effect, Don Miguel, who happened to be in Europe, proceeded to Lisbon, seized the throne, repudiated his contract with his niece, and when Donna Maria, who was but a child, came over to Europe to espouse her uncle, he refused to permit her to land. At the same time Don Miguel repudiated the constitution, as well as the marriage; and backed up chiefly by the clergy, and secretly (as was understood) by the despotic powers on the Continent, he announced his intention to rule as absolutely as his predecessors had done before him. Donna Maria, on being refused permission to land in Portugal, proceeded to England, where the Government had guaranteed the fulfilment of the treaty; but on her friends applying at the Foreign Office she found that Lord Aberdeen was altogether indisposed to interfere, either by word or deed, but allowed the usurper quietly to retain possession of the throne. Nay, he went farther, for when the Duke of Terceira, a staunch friend of Donna Maria and of the cause of constitutional government, proposed to raise a body of men in this country in order to recover the throne for the queen by force of arms, the Earl of Aberdeen interfered, and refused to allow any such enlistment to proceed. The cause of Donna Maria was therefore postponed for some time, and did

not assume a cheering prospect till another Ministry had been installed in office.

It would be absurd to deny that this policy was in some degree adopted in consequence of the Foreign Secretary's sympathy with the views of the ministers of Austria and Russia, whose acquaintance he had made during his residence abroad, and whose principles of action he was at that time induced to adopt, so far as they could be adapted to the action of a free state. On the other hand, it would be unjust to deny that much of it also had its foundation in a principle which his lordship adopted early, and to which through the whole course of his life he has steadily adhered—the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of foreign states. That principle was in itself entirely at variance with the principle sought to be established by the Holy Alliance, which was, that every state ought to interfere and put down popular insurrections wherever they might occur; and in the noble lord's abandonment of that principle, if he ever entertained it, will be found the best excuse for the indifference with which he seemed disposed to look on and see the fairest opportunity for the establishment of freedom in Europe crushed before his eyes, without lifting a hand or speaking a word in its defence. But in dealing with this principle of non-interference, one must carefully distinguish between it as interpreted by Lord Aberdeen and the same principle as interpreted by his successor Lord Palmerston. By the latter, non-interference meant abstinence from taking up arms on behalf of any one of two contending parties,—it did not prevent interference by advice, encouragement, and in every possible way short of actual warlike assistance; by the former, non-interference meant exactly what it professed to be, an absolute neutrality between contending factions, leaving each to fight out their battle as they best might, and keeping this country in a position to recognise whichever side should gain the victory.

Of this a notable example occurred in the year 1830, in the memorable case of the French Revolution. The three days of July swept from the throne and the soil of France the family which the Duke of Wellington and his Foreign Secretary had in former times exerted themselves so much to place there; and for a moment it was thought that the old quarrel would be renewed, and that Europe would once more arm in defence of the Bourbons. It was but for a moment, however. As soon as the forms of diplomatic etiquette would allow, the English Government signified their recognition of the throne which had been erected on the barricades; and the promptitude with which Lord Aberdeen took this step had a powerful effect in inducing the despotic courts of Europe to take the same course. In our days, when France has exhibited an almost protean versatility in its change of governments, all of which have been recognised as soon as they were formed, this promptitude on the part of Lord Aberdeen may be thought nothing wonderful, but it must be recollected that this was the first example of the kind, and it was considered at the time as a great stretch of liberality.

While thus occupied, as it might be thought, to the full stretch of his powers, on grave and important questions of foreign policy, Lord Aberdeen was not altogether unmindful of the questions of domestic interest which were less within his province, but in which he took a lively interest. The first of these was the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. These statutes, which had been originally enacted in the reign of Charles II., provided that no person should accept of place under the Crown, or of any office in the gift of a municipal corporation, unless he had first taken the sacrament according to the form prescribed by the Church of England. The object of the laws when first brought forward was to put a stop to the plan which seemed then to be entertained by the monarch of filling the offices of state and

all the corporations in the kingdom with persons of the Roman Catholic religion. It was looked upon as a step necessary to the peculiar circumstances of those times, and as such it had been carried, with the entire approbation of the Nonconformist party, though they, as well as the Roman Catholics, were thus excluded from all participation in civil and municipal honours. But when the exigency of the occasion passed away the Church of England was unwilling to quit the power she had obtained, and the Test Acts, though often complained of, remained in full force long after the presumed necessity had wholly ceased. Their weight fell chiefly upon Dissenters, for the Roman Catholics were comparatively few in municipal towns; and as to the offices of state, it was not to be supposed they could attain to these when they were at the time wholly excluded from Parliament itself. The repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, therefore, and Catholic Emancipation, were two wholly distinct questions, though the advocates of the one question were, generally speaking, the supporters of the other also. Indeed, the only exception to this rule was the celebrated statesman George Canning, who, in one of the latest speeches he made in Parliament, declared that while he was resolved to carry Catholic Emancipation as soon as possible, he would continue, as he had always done, to oppose the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.

The question had frequently been brought forward by Lord John Russell, who was on this, as on many other questions, the chosen friend of civil and religious liberty. He had always been defeated till the session of 1828, when Mr Peel, who then led the House of Commons, opposed his motion; but, to the surprise of everybody, the Government was beaten on the question. A Cabinet Council was held, and on the following evening Peel came down to the House and intimated that the Government had agreed to offer no farther opposition to the

passing of the measure, provided that Lord John would consent to the insertion of a proviso, declaring that Dissenters admitted to municipal or civil offices should not use the privilege to the injury of the Established Church. This was agreed to—the bill passed the Commons—was brought up to the Lords, where it received the support of the members of the Government, and Lord Aberdeen delivered an eloquent speech in its favour, ingeniously illustrating the absurdity of the old restrictions from his own experience. We have already mentioned that his Lordship was a Presbyterian, and as such he stated he had been subjected to the operation of the bill—subjected to it not once only, but twice in the course of two or three months. When he accepted the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster he said he was called upon to take the sacrament in the Church of England, and he did so. Soon after he changed his office to that of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and, greatly to his surprise, he was called upon to go through the same process again. Though he was by no means inclined to a qualmish conscience, yet he did think that to be called upon twice over within so short a time to take the sacrament according to the forms of a Church of which he was not a member, neither tended to increase respect for the Church which required the form, nor for himself, who was thus compelled to make religion a stalking-horse to obtain a civil office. It need hardly be added, that the measure was carried with little or no opposition.

The other question was that of Catholic Emancipation, which was settled in the following year, closing up a wound which had long rankled in the heart of the kingdom, dividing the most influential statesmen of the country, and arraying one portion of the United Kingdom against the other. The settlement of that question by the full concession of the right of Roman Catholics to sit in Parliament, brought great obloquy upon the cha

racters of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, who, up to that year, had always been recognised by the Tory party as the leaders of the men who opposed the claim. At this distance of time, it is painful to recall the coarse and malignant calumnies which were levelled against these distinguished men for what the world has long since agreed was an act of generous self-denial at the shrine of public duty, and we revert to it now only for the purpose of stating that none of those slanders were directed against the Earl of Aberdeen, who—though, through his modest and retiring disposition, he seldom attempted to address the House on that or any other subject—was yet known to have long entertained a leaning towards the admission of Roman Catholics. But though his character did not suffer from the course he took on that occasion, it could not be but that his position was sensibly affected by it. The Tory party was broken up by the Catholic Emancipation Act, just as, in later years, the Conservative body was shattered by the repeal of the Corn Laws. The old Tories lost their confidence in their former champions. The question of Parliamentary Reform, which had slumbered for a while, began to be agitated with renewed vigour. Indeed, some of the Tories turned Radical Reformers, on the ground that public opinion, if fairly represented in Parliament, would have prevented the admission of the Roman Catholics; and, in the midst of this ferment, two events occurred which rendered the progress of the new opinions irresistible. The one was the French Revolution, which inflamed the popular mind to a pitch of enthusiasm something resembling madness; and the other was the death of George IV., which, rendering a new election necessary, enabled the nation to give full effect to its desires by the return of a majority to the House of Commons pledged to the question of Parliamentary Reform. The consequence was no longer doubtful. The Duke, as Prime Minister, had declared against

all reform. The Duke could no longer be Minister. He sustained a defeat on the first serious question that came before the new House of Commons—the Cabinet resigned—and Earl Grey and a Cabinet pledged to Reform came into office.

It is no part of our business here to go into the question of the Reform Bill, and the struggles which took place before it became law. It is sufficient to say, that in these struggles, and in the debates which took place upon the measure in all its stages, the Earl of Aberdeen took little share. He opposed it, indeed—as a leading member of the Tory party he could not have done otherwise; but he allowed the controversy itself to be managed by other men. He reserved himself for questions where his peculiar talents as well as his advantages of position gave him a more commanding influence—on subjects connected with the foreign relations of the country. There was not wanting here ample room for his lordship's criticism, of which it is fair to say he availed himself to the utmost. His successor at the Foreign Office, from the moment he was installed there, pursued a widely different line of policy from that which had been followed by Lord Aberdeen. We have already alluded to the cold reception which his lordship gave in 1828 to Donna Maria of Portugal; it will be sufficient here to state that her cause was warmly taken up by Lord Palmerston, who unhesitatingly afforded the aid which Lord Aberdeen had declined; that the same assistance was afforded to Spain, then torn by civil war between the Constitutionalists, fighting for the young queen, Donna Isabella, and the Absolutists, fighting for her uncle, Don Carlos; and, finally, that a quadruple treaty was concluded between England, France, Spain, and Portugal, in virtue of which the two former powers stood engaged to furnish aid to the constitutional cause in the other two kingdoms; in consequence of which a legion was raised in this country for the service of the

Spanish queen, and a British squadron was stationed off the north-east coast of Spain, where the civil war was raging, to help the Constitutionalists, and to annoy the Carlists by all the means in its power. This was a clear departure from the principle of neutrality which had regulated the conduct of Lord Aberdeen. He attacked the intermeddling policy, as he called it, of Lord Palmerston with great warmth, and with an acerbity which seemed to savour of personal animosity. Discussions on this subject frequently took place; the great debate occurred in 1837, when the foreign policy of the Whig Government was brought before both Houses of Parliament. On that occasion Lord Aberdeen condemned the interference pursued by Lord Palmerston.

About this time an episode occurred in the political life of the noble Earl which ought not to be passed over. The Church of Scotland was in trouble, and the Earl, as an attached member of that Church, undertook to assist her out of her difficulty. The attempt was creditable, and we doubt not was made in all good faith, but the result gave satisfaction to no party, and, in Scotland at least, somewhat tarnished his name. The difficulties of the Church arose from two sources, the inadequacy of her machinery to deal with the overgrown population, and the exclusion of the popular voice in the appointment of the ministers to her parishes. The first was the most pressing. Indeed, the latter had been taken by her Church courts into their own hands; and in the full belief that they had the power to regulate all matters connected with the settlement of ministers, the General Assembly of 1834 enacted, that while the lay patrons of churches should retain their right to present ministers, the communicants in a parish should have the right to say whether or not they approved of the choice; and, if they dissented, their dissent, without cause shewn, should be conclusive as to that particular appointment. There were not want-

ing sagacious men—and among them must be mentioned the clear-headed as well as the large-hearted Chalmers—who doubted whether the Church had powers by her own act to make such a serious encroachment on the rights of patrons, and they recommended that an act of Parliament should be obtained to set the question at rest; but they were overborne in the private deliberations of the party by the legal authority of such men as Jeffrey, Cockburn, and Abercromby—and so the question was allowed to rest on the authority of the Church alone, an authority which was challenged in the civil courts on a very early occasion of the popular privilege being exercised. But the question dragged along for years in the civil court, and, meanwhile, a more pressing question had arisen out of the very success of the former. The long dormant love of the Scotch people for their National Church was awakened by this gallant assertion on the part of her clergymen of the rights of the people; and, at the same time, the trumpet voice of Chalmers was heard ringing clear and distinct throughout the land, proclaiming the gross inadequacy of the ecclesiastical machinery, as set up at the Reformation, to provide for a population which had since more than doubled in amount, and calling on prince and people alike for the means of rescuing the overgrown population from a state of utter godlessness. The people heard and answered, though the Government looked askance; with a liberality till that time unprecedented, hundreds of thousands of pounds were collected from the friends of the Church—new chapels began to raise their spires in all directions; in the pent streets of the crowded city, in the country village where a new population had gathered, by the side of manufactories which were utterly unknown a few years before. A proposition was then made by Dr Chalmers that voluntary and Government aid should be divided in this way,—that the people should build

the churches and that the Government should endow them; the fact that the people were at the expense of erecting a church being in his eyes a sufficient guarantee to the Government against any fear of its liberality being abused, or of its being called upon to endow more churches than there was need for. But the Whigs, who were then in power, looked on the matter in a different light. They could not afford to offend the Dissenters, who were, indeed, their chief supporters in the Scotch burgh towns, and the Dissenters were bestirring themselves with as much zeal against any grant of the public money to the Established Church as Dr Chalmers and his friends manifested to obtain it. Hence the Government were placed in a dilemma, and they did what most men do in such circumstances—they temporised; they appointed a commission to go through all the parishes of Scotland and inquire into the alleged need of additional means of religious instruction, taking into account, however—what Dr Chalmers and his friends did not lay much stress on—the amount of Church accommodation provided by the Dissenters. The inquiry consumed some time—the report of the commissioners was at best vague and indecisive; but the end of the whole matter was, that, after a long and angry and at times an exciting series of negotiations, the Church got nothing. It was while matters were yet in the balance, but inclining against the Church, that the Earl of Aberdeen introduced the question into the House of Lords. In a speech remarkable for the clear and lucid view it presented of a question which, both in its principle and still more in its technical details, must have been new to the audience he addressed, he set forth the claims which the Church of Scotland had upon the Government, and in strong and pointed terms censured the evasive course which the Government was following with regard to her.

A still graver question was at hand, one in which his lordship was to be more personally mixed up. The question of the Church's power to limit the rights of patronage, which we have mentioned as being the subject of litigation in the courts of law, was at last brought to trial, and decided against the Church; it was taken to the House of Lords, as to the court of last resort, but the decision was there unanimously confirmed. It was found that the Church had exceeded her powers, and must rescind her "Veto" law. Other decisions on kindred questions, but still more galling to the independence of the Church as a spiritual constitution, followed close upon the heels of the main one. The Church was sorely beset, and knew not which way to look for deliverance. She had, indeed, been remarkably unfortunate in her proceedings. Had she applied for a parliamentary sanction for her Veto Act in 1834, when the nation was still flushed with the popular notions on the Reform Bill, in all probability she would have obtained it. But the case was altogether altered five or six years afterwards, in 1837 and 1838, when the Church and the Whigs had quarrelled, and when, even if disposed to aid, the Whigs, struggling for existtence with a bare majority in the House of Commons, had no power to originate an independent measure. The day for spiritual independence had gone by. With regard to extension, again, could that question have been postponed for a few years later, till the Conservatives succeded to office, and could the independence question have been settled, there is little doubt that a moderate endowment would have been obtained. But it was the fate of the Church of Scotland never to have the opportunity of presenting her claims in fitting time or to the fitting body of men.

In the distress to which the Church was now reduced, the eyes of her leaders were turned to Lord Aberdeen. As a Conservative, and as a patron himself, he had

been opposed to the passing of the Veto Law in the General Assembly, but his opposition had always been courteously conducted, and he had taken no part in the legal proceedings by which the nullity of that act was pronounced. Besides, he had already shewn his interest in the religious condition of his native country by the speech he made on the subject of endowments—added to all, the influential members of the Church were almost to a man at this time the supporters of that political party of which his lordship was a distinguished leader. It was natural, therefore, that his lordship should be applied to on the subject—most natural also that he should be willing to aid in settling this vexed question. The credit of composing the differences in the Church of Scotland was an honour, as Sir Robert Peel said at the time, of which any statesman might well be proud. His lordship undertook the task, and a long negotiation took place. Both parties strained their utmost to yield as much as possible to the demands of the other. The Veto Act was to be given up. On the other hand, Lord Aberdeen was willing to allow something to the popular voice; how much, was the great point in dispute. Lord Aberdeen proposed that the people in every case where they made objection should state their reasons for doing so, and that then the presbytery should judge whether their reasons were sufficient for the rejection of the presentee. But that the Church leaders would not agree to; it would be conferring upon the clergy a power which would be always liable to abuse, and which would be always suspected of being abused; and it would be doubly odious in the eyes of the people, because, in fact, it would be taking the power which had been conferred on them by the Veto Act and conferring it on the clergy. They proposed, in turn, that the people should, as Lord Aberdeen insisted, state their reasons for refusing a presentee, but that those reasons, whether forcible or frivolous, should be equally valid

in every case in which they were concurred in by the majority of the communicants. It was supposed that Lord Aberdeen had assented to this view of the case. The negotiators, on the part of the Church, came down from London and gratified their friends by the announcement that Lord Aberdeen had assented to these views, and that the reasons of the majority of the communicants were in all cases to be valid, even though, to use his lordship's own illustration, the only objection they could urge against a man was that he had red hair. Great rejoicing took place in consequence of this announcement, and great was the interest felt in the forthcoming bill which Lord Aberdeen was to introduce into the House of Lords, embodying the principle which he and the Church party had agreed on. This was in the spring of 1840. And in proportion to the anticipations which had been formed were the disgust and indignation that were felt when the bill actually made its appearance, and it was found that it contained, after all, the obnoxious clause, that of the reasons given by the parishioners the presbytery were to be judges, and might, if they saw fit, set aside those reasons as frivolous, and ordain the presentee in the face of a resisting parish. The bill and its author were denounced throughout the whole of Scotland, not only as not fulfilling the necessities of the occasion, but also as a distinct breach of faith. The men who had been engaged in the negotiations on the part of the Church unhesitatingly and roundly declared that Lord Aberdeen had deceived them, and in the General Assembly which met that year his lordship's conduct was subject to denunciations, equally unwonted whether we regard their authors or their object. His lordship defended himself against these imputations in the House of Lords with great spirit, though it must be owned it is difficult, on reading the correspondence which passed between the parties, and which contained the heads of the negotia-

tion, not to see that the Church party had some reason for their complaints. Probably his lordship was led, in his anxiety to accommodate matters, and in the warmth of private intercourse, to promise more than he intended or felt himself able to perform, and hence the unsatisfactory issue of the negotiations. The consequences were disastrous. The bill, though approved of by a minority of the General Assembly, was decidedly, scornfully, rejected by the majority! His lordship, seeing no good end that was to be attained by its prosecution through Parliament, allowed it to drop, and in the next session, on being questioned whether he meant to renew his efforts for the settlement of the question, which was now every year drawing nearer to a crisis, he declared that he had no such intention, giving as his reason that the majority of the Church were evidently bent on extreme measures to which he could never give his consent, and that while they continued to be the ruling body it would be useless for him to interfere. He spoke with much asperity of Dr Chalmers and other leading members of the Church, and it was evident that the reproaches which had been cast upon him in the previous year still rankled in his mind. Thus it was that the question was allowed to find its own solution, which took place in the year 1843, when upwards of seven hundred ministers, comprising among them men of the highest distinction for piety, learning, and eloquence, left the National Establishment, and constituted themselves into the Free Church of Scotland. His lordship was then again induced to interfere; he introduced and succeeded in carrying through a bill modelled on the one he had proposed in 1840; but it was then too late—the mischief had been done—the rent in the National Church was irreparable.

Before that catastrophe took place, the Earl of Aberdeen was again called to occupy a place in her Majesty's councils. The Whigs had been thoroughly beaten in

the general election of 1841—a vote of want of confidence in them was carried by a majority of about ninety. Lord Melbourne resigned, and Sir Robert Peel came into power, who immediately called on Lord Aberdeen to resume his former post as Minister for Foreign Affairs. His influence on the state of our relations with other countries was speedily felt in drawing closer the bonds of amity than had been the case up to that time; with France especially the difference became very marked. It happened that just previous to his assumption of office, a good deal of ill blood had been shewn between the two countries, on account of matters arising out of the French occupation of Tahiti, and war was at one time thought to be almost inevitable. But the French minister, M. Thiers, was dismissed a little before, and M. Guizot assumed the portfolio of foreign affairs in France about the same time that Lord Aberdeen became Foreign Minister in England. Between these two statesmen there existed the most intimate relations; they corresponded rather with the unreserve of bosom friends than with the formality or frigidity of ministers of state, and the consequence was that an alliance sprang up between the two countries more close, more intimate, and more cordial than had probably existed at any former period in history. The intimacy was not confined to the ministers, it extended even to the sovereigns themselves; and our gracious Queen, accompanied by her Foreign Minister, made a visit of a few days to Louis Philippe, at his chateau of Eu, on the coast of Normandy, where she was entertained for some days with all that French hospitality and ingenuity could suggest. It was amusing to observe that in the course of this visit, as well as in his diplomatic intercourse generally, the grave and somewhat reverend bearing of the Scotchman had made a lasting impression upon the French monarch, who not only addressed him in language of great familiarity, but in his correspondence with other parties, spoke of the

British minister as "*Ce bon* Aberdeen," a phrase that was afterwards quoted in terms of irony against Lord Aberdeen, especially after it became manifest that the wily old monarch had not allowed his affection for either the British sovereign or her minister to stand in the way of overreaching them in the affair of marrying his son to the sister of the Queen of Spain, contrary to treaties and to his own personal promise. But this did not occur till towards the end of his term of office, when he was again giving place to his rival, Lord Palmerston. Another question which he was called upon to settle, as a legacy left to him by his predecessors in office, was the Chinese war. Lord Aberdeen found the quarrel begun when he entered office, and though he, in conjunction with the party, had disapproved of the steps which led to the rupture, yet, as the war had begun, he prosecuted it vigorously, and the result was the opening of the Chinese ports to English trade, instead of having the traffic confined to Canton, where it had been up to that time entirely carried on. It is right, however, to say, that though the greater part of the war was carried on and the peace concluded during Lord Aberdeen's term of office, yet the merit of the whole ought to be attributed to Lord Palmerston, who had sketched out the course which he expected hostilities would take, as well as the conditions of peace which ought to be insisted on, before he left office. That which only belongs to his administration, or for which he will be gratefully remembered by posterity, was his definition of the strict boundary line between the British possessions in North America and the United States, both on the north-east and the north-west. These points had both been left unsettled at the conclusion of the war of independence, and since, partly because the regions to which they referred were then remote from all colonisation, and seemed likely to remain so for centuries to come, and partly because no regular survey of them

had ever been made. It was, therefore, judged sufficient at the time to define the district in question by an off-hand reference to a certain degree of latitude, all on one side of which should belong to Great Britain and all on the other to the United States. As the country came to be gradually filled up, the inconvenience of this vague mode of settlement became apparent. Settlers from either side began to encroach on the disputed territory, and the necessity for a final solution of the question pressed every day with greater force. The north-eastern boundary, as the most settled, became the first question to dispose of. Lord Aberdeen accordingly despatched Lord Ashburton, better known as Alexander Baring, of the princely house of Baring and Co., to the United States, where he was extensively known, with full powers to conclude a definitive treaty. Lord Ashburton proceeded at once to Washington, and in the course of a very short time a treaty was produced, signed, and ratified, which it may be hoped has set the question at rest for ever. Lord Palmerston, indeed, following the example which Lord Aberdeen had before set him of carping at every measure undertaken by his rival, attempted to throw discredit upon the treaty, by representing that in it a tract of land was given up to the United States which up to that time had always been considered as British territory, and on the faith of that colonised by British emigrants; but the public was not in a temper to stick at trifles: the district in question was so insignificant, compared with the importance of having the whole question amicably settled, that no response was produced throughout the country, and the treaty was ratified with all but universal consent. The other question—that of the north-western boundary—generally known as the Oregon question, was a still more brilliant affair. The same vague restriction to a degree of latitude, without reference to the geographical features of the country,

had been adopted in this case; and though it was admitted that the old treaties guaranteed the rights of Great Britain to extend in the line indicated all the way to the Pacific Ocean, yet bands of restless and adventurous American pioneers were beginning to occupy the country; and there were not wanting persons in the American Congress and Senate to propose that the United States should seize upon the whole unoccupied territory. On this occasion, Lord Aberdeen, and his chief, Sir Robert Peel, gave indication, that though they loved peace, they were not disposed to allow the rights of England to be invaded with impunity. A resolute but at the same time courteous attitude was taken up; the Americans were again invited to an amicable settlement of the question, and after a good deal of bluster on the part of some American statesmen, not excepting, it must be said, the president Mr Polk himself, a treaty, fairly providing for the rights of all parties, was negotiated, and the ratification arrived in this country from America just as Sir Robert Peel's ministry were leaving office in 1846. Thus, to Lord Aberdeen may fairly be conceded the honour of having during his term of office removed all causes of dispute and quarrel between this country and the United States.

We have alluded to Lord Aberdeen leaving office in 1846. The cause of that is well known to have been the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the consequent withdrawal by the bulk of the Conservative party of their confidence in Sir Robert Peel's Government. It is not necessary to go into that question here—we allude to it only for the sake of introducing an incident to shew how steadily Lord Aberdeen was progressing in liberal views, though the nature of his office and the general reserve of his manner prevented him from making that progress clear to the House. It is well known, that when in the spring of 1846 Sir Robert Peel proposed

to his Cabinet to repeal the Corn Laws, the consequence was that they determined to resign; that Lord John Russell was then applied to, but as he declined to take office, the Peel Cabinet, with the single exception of Lord Derby, returned to office, and carried through the repeal of the Corn Laws. The apparent inconsistency of noblemen and gentlemen resigning office rather than carry through a particular measure one day, and resuming office the next for the express purpose of carrying that measure, did not escape notice; and Lord Beaumont put the question in the House of Lords to those Cabinet Ministers who were members of that body, to explain, if they could, the anomaly. Lord Aberdeen undertook to answer the question for the rest, though in fact he answered only for himself, when he stated that the charge of a sudden conversion, at any rate, could not apply to him, for he had been for many years convinced of the injustice and impolicy of the Corn Laws, and had long been anxious to have them repealed. The unexpected nature of this answer took their lordships so much by surprise that they altogether forgot to put the same question to the other members of the Cabinet.

Since his resignation in 1846, Lord Aberdeen has pursued the same course that he did when formerly out of office—seldom taking part in the debates of the House except when those debates related to foreign affairs. The most notable instance of this occurred in 1850, when Lord Derby introduced a resolution concerning Lord Palmerston's conduct in the affair of the Greek embargo; Lord Aberdeen, who had generally supported ministers, on this occasion delivered a telling speech against Lord Palmerston's policy, complaining of his intermeddling in the affairs of every nation, the effect of which was to render England hated and despised all over the world. It was an able *résumé* of the difference in policy between himself and the Whig statesman, but virtually it was a repetition of the state-

ments we have already given. The only other question on which he took part was in the Papal aggression of the ensuing year. Lord Aberdeen, in consonance with the views entertained by the other members of the Peel party, objected to all legislative interference with the Papal division of England into new Episcopal districts, and the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops to those sees, on the ground that, however much opposed this might be to the feelings entertained by the people of England, it was done in violation of no law, and that it would be unjust to make an *ex post facto* law for the offence. With these exceptions, his name has seldom been brought before the public during the last six years. How much his wisdom and excellence were appreciated in high quarters, however, may be learned from the fact, that once and again Lord John Russell proposed that he and some others of his party should enter the Whig Cabinet, and that, in 1851, during the height of the discussions on the Papal aggression bill, when Lord John Russell resigned in consequence of a reform resolution having been carried against him, the statesman for whom the Queen sent to form a new Ministry was Lord Aberdeen; he declined on that occasion, but the incident proves that the idea of his lordship becoming premier was familiar to the mind of the sovereign before 1853, when, at the request of her Majesty, and with a more general concurrence on the part of the people than ever before occurred, since perhaps the days of Chatham, he accepted the office of prime minister of England.

While thus occupying a distinguished post in politics, his lordship has never been unmindful of those claims which science and art had upon him from his early youth. We have already alluded to his formation of the Athenian Society; we may also notice here, that in 1812 he was elected president of the Society of Antiquaries, which office he resigned in 1846. While

president he took a considerable part in the proceedings of that body; and in 1820 he contributed to the interest of their transactions by exhibiting the household book of James I., containing various details of the domestic economy of that period. In 1822 he appeared before the world as an author, having published a work on Grecian architecture, a subject on which he had bestowed much thought and research, and in which he was led to break a lance against Burke's theory of the association of ideas, in his well-known essay "On the Sublime and Beautiful." It must be owned, however, that the work has not superseded the "essay" in public estimation.

In person Lord Aberdeen is rather above the middle size, and of a spare figure, and equally plain and sedate in his garb and bearing. His style of speaking is grave and dignified, with a dash of formality; and his tones are somewhat monotonous. Upon the whole, he is a speaker who never fails to command the attention of the House, but who is listened to rather for the value and importance of his matter than for the graces of his manner.

# THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.

THE stability of the English system of government, by Queen, Lords, and Commons, is generally acknowledged to be mainly owing to those three elements which, while preserving each some distinct privileges and separate qualities, combine in harmonious action for the general good; and nothing tends so much to check the development of a jealous spirit between the two Houses, and of an envious feeling in the minds of the people, as the character and composition of the House of Lords. In that august assembly the majority, either in their own persons or in the persons of their ancestors, have risen from the middle classes of society. The bar, the navy, and the army, contribute in nearly equal proportions, and even manufactures and successful trade are not wholly unrepresented. The door is open to praiseworthy ambition in whatever grade it may be cherished, and the family of PETTY illustrates the theory that talents and industry may confidently look to the British House of Peers for their highest reward.

The fifth ancestor of the present Marquis of Lansdowne, and the founder of the family, was one Anthony Petty, a clothier, who early in the seventeenth century lived at Romsey, in Hampshire. His son, William Petty, was born in 1623, and was educated in the grammar-school of his native town. In his youth he was remarkable for his inventive genius, and at the age of twelve, by attentively watching the operations of the workmen, he had acquired a certain proficiency both

as a carpenter and smith. These mechanical pursuits did not, however, interfere with the attainment at fifteen of a fair knowledge of the Greek, Latin, and French languages, and a creditable acquaintance with geometry and astronomy. He then proceeded to the University of Caen in Normandy, where he maintained himself from the profits of a small stock of merchandise. On his return to England he entered the navy, but remained only a short time in the service; he again went abroad, on the breaking out of the civil war, and studied anatomy for three years at Paris under the celebrated Hobbes; and again turned his attention to the profits of trade for the purpose of securing a maintenance. Under the Commonwealth he was appointed deputy-professor of anatomy to the University of Oxford; and in 1649 he became a fellow of Brazenose College, and subsequently took the degree of doctor of medicine. In 1650 he was elected to the anatomical chair, and had also the good fortune to be chosen for the sinecure office of professor of music to Gresham College. At the next point in the career of this extraordinary man, we find him in Ireland as physician to the parliamentary army, where, besides his pay of twenty shillings a day, he was making £4000 a-year by private practice—no mean sum in those days. The tide of success was even then not quite at the flood, for he acquired a large sum by a contract with the Government to effect the admeasurement of the forfeited lands granted to the soldiers for repressing the rebellion, and still further improved his gains by purchasing soldiers' debentures. A considerable proportion of his savings was invested with judgment in estates in that country, which now belong to his illustrious descendant. In the Protector's parliament of 1658 he served as burgess for the borough of West Loe in Cornwall; but afterwards was dismissed from all public employments, to make room, probably, for other favourites. He retired to

Ireland, and on the Restoration was graciously received by Charles, who conferred on him the honour of knighthood in 1661, appointed him Surveyor-General of Ireland, and confirmed all his landed property by new grants to himself and wife. In December 1687 he died in his house in Piccadilly at the age of sixty-five, and was buried in his native place. He was the inventor of a copying instrument for writing, and of a double-bottomed ship, but his fame chiefly rests on some admirable treatises upon political economy, especially one entitled, *Political Arithmetic.* That his worldly condition had been greatly advanced by his energy and intelligence is sufficiently indicated by the fact that in his will he estimated his landed estates in England and Ireland at £6500 a-year, and his personal estate at £45,000.

By his wife Elizabeth, in her own right Baroness Shelburne, Sir William Petty left two children, Henry, Earl of Shelburne, who died without surviving issue in 1741; and Anne, who, on 14th January 1692, married Thomas Fitzmaurice, twenty-first Baron Kerry, and direct descendant of the common ancestor of the Dukes of Leinster, the Lords Windsor, and the noble family of Carew, one Otho de Windsor, a powerful baron in the time of Edward the Confessor. Baron Kerry received the title of Earl of Kerry, and his fifth son, John, succeeding to the estates of his maternal uncle, who has just been mentioned, on condition of taking the name of Petty, had the title of Earl of Shelburne revived in his person in 1753, and was by George the Second created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of Baron Wycombe. His son, William, married a daughter of Earl Granville (who was descended from the Earls of Bath and Viscounts Lansdowne), and was, for his services as prime minister to George the Third, elevated to the dignity of Marquis of Lansdowne, Earl of Wycombe, and Viscount Calne. By this marriage he had two sons, John

Henry, who survived him, and William, who died young; and, by a second marriage with the daughter of the Earl of Upper Ossory, he had issue,—Henry, the present Marquis, and a daughter, Louisa, who also died at an early age.

Of the two sons who lived, the eldest, Lord Wycombe, was, like his father, distinguished for the liberality of his opinions, at a time when any departure from the strict rules of Toryism by a member of the aristocracy was visited with positive discourtesy and rudeness, and spoken of as "an offensive singularity," subversive of the best interests of the crown and country. Probably to this cause may be traced an intense love of yachting, which drew him away from political scenes, and led him to make constant voyages to and from Ireland and the Continent. For greater convenience in prosecuting this favourite pursuit, he fixed his residence and built a castle at Southampton. The castle, though one of the largest and most costly, was built in such a situation, that little if any land pertained to it; and the gardens, which were magnificently laid out, occupied the site of Sir William Petty's house and patrimony, and composed the original estate of the Petty family, at Romsey, some ten or twelve miles distant. In the same year that he succeeded to the Marquisate he married Lady Gifford, the widow of Sir Duke Gifford, Bart., County Meath, Ireland, and daughter of a clergyman in the county of Chester; but there was no issue. And on his decease, on the 15th November 1809, his half-brother, Lord Henry Petty, succeeded to the title and family estates.

The present Marquis of Lansdowne was born on the 2d of July 1780, and is now, therefore, in his seventy-third year. At a proper age, and at his own request, his father sent him to Westminster school, and he lodged and boarded with an elderly lady, named Clapham, in Little Dean's Yard. The Rev. Mr Debarry, one of the

ushers, was selected as his tutor, and under the instructions of this gentleman Lord Henry remained at Westminster about five years, distinguished for his attention and application to the studies in which he engaged. Amongst his contemporaries at the school were Lord Stormont, afterwards Earl of Mansfield, Lord Ashburton, Lord Normanton, and others, who have since become public men. Upon leaving Westminster, his lordship proceeded with Mr Debarry to the University of Edinburgh; and in company with his friend Lord Ashburton, with whom an intimacy had sprung up, spent much of his time in the house of the celebrated Professor Stewart. It may well be supposed that the opportunity of strengthening his intellectual acquirements from contact with eminent literary and scientific men was not allowed to escape, and that his lordship at the same time observed and tested those enlightened political principles which were popular in Edinburgh when they were most despised in the select *coteries* of London. Almost immediately, as a matter of course, he joined the "Speculative Society," and exercised his powers of speech at the weekly debates, which were there conducted by many of those statesmen who have since contributed to save our country from revolution, by quietly and peacefully revolutionising those parts of our institutions which were become antagonistic to the progress of the nation. The impression he left on the minds of his hearers was not of that vivid character which more fiery spirits easily produce, but his style of oratory was appreciated as one which could not fail to command admiration and respect.

Having finished his studies at Edinburgh, he entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, and increased the number of his friends by the gentleness and urbanity of his manners and the intellectual qualities which he displayed. He remained at college till 1801, when he took the degree of Master of Arts; and he has since

declared that he spent there some of the happiest hours of his life.

By his father's desire he set out with M. Dumont to traverse the continent, but the peace of Amiens was too transient to permit of completely prosecuting that intention; and the policy of Bonaparte rendered a hasty return prudent and desirable. Being of age, he was nominated to represent the family borough of Calne in the first United Parliament, called in 1801, and for a year remained silently watching the forms of the House, and the tone adopted by those who addressed it. It was upon an Irish subject that he made his maiden speech—a subject with which, from the associations of his family, he was thoroughly acquainted. It was at the time of the Pitt administration, and under the working of the Bank Restriction Act the Irish community were threatened with serious consequences from the excessive issue of paper money from private banks. Lord Henry Petty's observations shewed clearness of perception, and soundness of views, and were the better received because modestly delivered. They displayed, too, an unusual amount of knowledge of political economy, for which, it will be remembered, his ancestor, Sir William Petty, was greatly distinguished. After this first and successful essay in the political arena, his lordship was a frequent speaker—was considered a great acquisition to the opposition—and was always well received by both parties in the senate.

In 1803 commissioners were appointed to inquire into the abuses of the naval department, and by their report they implicated Lord Melville as having, while Treasurer of the Navy (from which office he had been raised to that of First Lord of the Admiralty), retained large balances of the public money in his hands. In April 1805 the report was brought under the consideration of the Commons by Mr Whitbread, and the question was the occasion of a violent party struggle. The

salary of the Treasurer of the Navy had been advanced from £2000 to £4000, in lieu of any profits from moneys lying in his hands; and the charges against Lord Melville were, that, notwithstanding its illegality, he had transferred large sums into the hands of his own bankers, had left a deficiency of £60,000 a year in his accounts, and had allowed his paymaster, one Trotter, to use the public money for his own purposes, and in gambling speculations on the Stock Exchange. In the present day it is difficult to imagine such charges being brought against a person occupying so high an office, but it is admitted on all sides that in the case of Lord Melville, whatever the extent of his guilt, the charges were neither frivolous nor unfounded. To defend the confusion of public and private purses, if not the actual commission of fraud, tasked the eloquence of the prime minister to the utmost, though the prime minister was Pitt, and afforded the occasion of Lord Henry Petty delivering a most forcible and telling speech, in which he justly observed:—

"Let it be remembered how the persons were situated who were thus connected together—Mr Mark Sprott, the broker, confidentially employed by Mr Trotter, the paymaster; Mr Trotter, the paymaster, confidentially employed by Lord Melville; and Lord Melville confidentially employed by the public. He had heard of Jacobin combinations and of other combinations, but it would be difficult to imagine any combination more detrimental to the public than that of these three persons, who touched the Cabinet on the one side, and the stocks on the other. What changes of fortune, what convulsions in finance, was it not capable of effecting? . . . . . He trusted that the event of that night would shew that whatever difference of opinion might exist—if, indeed, there did exist any—on the principles of government, or on the application of those principles to public measures, yet, when such questions as these

came to be determined—whether the law should or should not be observed—whether the public expenditure should be watched or should pass unexamined or uncontrolled—there was to be found but one voice, one opinion, and one cause, the cause of men of all descriptions who pretended to any sort of principle, in opposition to those who either did not profess any, or, what was as dangerous if not as bad, who thought none essential to the honour, the safety, and the existence of the country."

The speech, of which this is but an extract, immediately raised great expectations of the young nobleman's subsequent career, and some were so enthusiastic in their praise as to deem him worthy to rival the oratorical fame of Pitt. The subject was one congenial to the high spirit and chivalrous honour of a young man carefully educated, and necessarily detesting any laxity of principle in public officers; and, at the same time that Lord Henry Petty was spurred on by a worthy ambition to distinguish himself in Parliament, he was assisted by the consciousness that in assaulting the ministry he was promoting the cause of rectitude and truth. The resolution of Mr Whitbread was only carried by the Speaker's vote, the division giving 216 for, and 216 against it; but after Lord Melville had resigned office, and had been struck from the list of privy councillors, he was impeached, and acquitted by a very small majority of the assembled peers.

On the 23d of January 1806, Mr Pitt died, and Mr Fox resumed the powers of government. The death of the prime minister caused a vacancy in the representation of the University of Cambridge; and Lord Henry Petty having accepted office as Chancellor of the Exchequer, sought to supply it.* He was opposed by Lord

* His Lordship was connected with the Fox family. His mother, Lady Louisa Fitzpatrick, was sister to the wife of the second Lord Holland, who was the brother of Charles James Fox the prime minister.

Althorpe and Lord Palmerston, but at the close of the contest the numbers were—

| | |
|---|---|
| Lord Henry Petty, | 331 |
| Lord Althorpe, | 145 |
| Lord Palmerston, | 128 |

so that his triumph was signal and complete.

Owing to the great expenses of the war, attention was directed rather to the increase than to the diminution of taxation; and in the two budgets which, in his official capacity, his lordship introduced, there was no scope for any biddings for popularity; they were dry matters of figures, which seem to have been as drily discussed. On the 13th of September, Mr Fox was struck down by the hand of death; and his friends who composed "the ministry of all the talents," were not destined long to survive in the political world the loss of their illustrious chief. Lord Grenville took the helm, and succeeded in passing through Parliament a bill for the abolition of the slave trade; but failing in another equally enlightened measure, for the removal of Catholic disabilities, the Cabinet resigned in the March of the following year. A consistent advocacy of the Catholic claims cost Lord Henry Petty not merely his office, but his seat, the University replacing him by Sir Vicary Gibbs, who only obtained the honour by a majority of two over Lord Palmerston, who was again a candidate. The numbers were—

| | |
|---|---|
| Earl of Euston, | 324 |
| Sir Vicary Gibbs, | 312 |
| Lord Palmerston, | 310 |
| Lord Henry Petty, | 265 |

His lordship was, however, provided with a seat by the influence of the Duke of Bedford, for the small borough of Camelford, in Cornwall (so small, that it figured in Schedule A of the Reform Bill), which he continued to represent till his elevation to the House of Peers.

A year before that event took place he had married his cousin, Lady Louisa Strangeways, daughter of the second Earl of Ilchester, a match which gave satisfaction to the relatives of both parties. In 1805, three years before the marriage, his father died and left him a liberal provision. The late marquis was celebrated for combining two very opposite qualities, liberality in expenditure and wisdom in economy; indeed, it has been stated by Boswell, who relates it on the authority of Johnson, that the marquis said on one occasion £5000 a year was as much as any nobleman required, to enjoy and procure all the elegancies and comforts of life suitable to his rank. The Earl of Wycombe, who then became Marquis, followed the bent of his humour, which led him to prefer the deck of his yacht and his castle at Southampton to the turmoil and excitements of political life. He died without issue in 1809, and was succeeded, as before stated, by his half-brother.

Lord Henry Petty, now the Marquis of Lansdowne, continued in opposition until 1827, when he joined the administration of Mr Canning, as Secretary for the Home Department, obtaining additional credit by his admirable discharge of the duties of that office. The death of Canning in the following August placed Lord Goderich at the head of affairs, but the selection of Mr Herries as Chancellor of the Exchequer induced the marquis to resign, and he was only prevailed on to continue his services at the request of the king, not to precipitate a dissolution of the ministry. The appointment of Mr Herries, however, produced that result, as his objection to the nomination of Lord Althorpe as chairman of the financial committee caused a division in the Cabinet, against which the premier was unable to contend. Under the Duke of Wellington the Liverpool Cabinet returned to office, and Lord Lansdowne became the leader of the opposition in the House of Lords.

Although his lordship's name is associated with all the measures promoted and carried by the Whigs during the last half century, the one with which it will be more closely identified is that of Catholic Emancipation. He was ever the consistent and able advocate of the concession of equal civil rights, irrespective of religious opinions; and none of his many speeches are more vigorous or more logical than those in which he argued for the removal of disabilities from his Catholic fellow-countrymen. From the moment Grattan carried in the Irish Parliament his celebrated resolution, "that the king and Irish Parliament alone possess power to make laws binding on Ireland," it became certain that the question of Catholic disqualifications could never again be set aside. From that time there was no rest, —the mind of the sovereign was harassed—the cabinet was first distracted and then broken up—and the parliament was agitated by the perpetual renewal of the demands of the Catholics for justice. The Catholic population rapidly increased, and the memory of the Inquisition, the Gunpowder Plot, and the Stuarts, was gradually fading away. In 1800 the Act of Union was obtained by a pledge on the part of Mr Pitt that the Catholic disabilities should be removed. The king's scruples were respected, and the danger of the Irish uniting with the French against the throne became imminent. In 1807 the law precluded any Catholic from sitting in either House of Parliament, from being guardian of a Protestant, from presenting to any ecclesiastical living, from keeping arms for sale or otherwise, and practically from serving on juries or holding any office in the public service. Yet the Catholics did not rebel, believing the question was only postponed till the death of the king, then an old man of sixty-eight. Time wore out that impression, and after waiting some thirteen years, the Catholics despaired of any favourable results from Mr Canning's and Lord Lansdowne's efforts.

Then succeeded "a feverish agitation and unnatural excitement, to a degree scarcely credible, throughout the entire country. Social intercourse was poisoned in its very springs, family was divided against family, and neighbour against neighbour, the bonds of social life were almost dissevered, the fountains of public justice corrupted, a spirit of discord walked openly abroad, and an array of physical force was marshalled in defiance of all law and to the imminent danger of the public peace." On the 6th of March 1827, Canning spoke for the last time on this question, but his resolution was rejected by 276 against 272. The Marquis of Lansdowne had given notice in the Lords of a similar motion, but he withdrew it, avowing that he dared not brave the consequences of the disappointment of the Catholics if both Houses should shew a majority against them. The Liverpool administration fell, and for a time the coalition between the Liberals and the Canningites gave the Catholics an administration favourable to their claims. They were not, however, destined to receive their emancipation from the hands of their political friends. In January 1828, the Duke of Wellington headed the third cabinet which was formed within seven months, and one more year of agitation and excitement convinced ministers of the fruitless and fatal character of the struggle in which they were engaged. On the meeting of Parliament in the month of February the following year, it was well known something had been determined on, and the Marquis of Lansdowne, on the address in answer to the king's speech, said:—

"It is only to be regretted that the settlement of this momentous question did not take place long ago. By this time what immense good would have been effected if the advice of Mr Pitt had been followed at the time of the Union!—advice which does more honour to his memory as a statesman than any other advice which h

gave, or any act which he did, during the long period of his administration."

Sir Robert (then Mr) Peel had resigned his seat for the University of Oxford, in consequence of his yielding "to a moral necessity which he could not control, being unwilling to push resistance to a point which might endanger the establishments he wished to defend." On the 10th of February, the Marquis of Lansdowne, having expressed his thanks to "those wise and honest men who had made a sacrifice of their prejudices for the good of their country," ably defended Mr Peel from the torrent of abuse which the Anti-Catholic party had lavished on him, in the course of which he said, "Since the infamous decree in favour of passive obedience and non-resistance which was burned by the hands of the common hangman, the University, if it should reject the right honourable gentleman, had done nothing so contemptible and disgraceful." The University did reject Mr Peel, as it had before rejected Mr Canning, and this was not the only obstacle to the success of the Relief Act. The very night before moving it in the House of Commons, Mr Peel and the duke found the king so impracticable that they formally resigned office, and returned from Windsor no longer ministers of the Crown; but the case was too strong for royal influence, and before morning the sovereign prudently reinstated his servants, and gave them the requisite authority to proceed with the bill. During the interval between its introduction in the Commons and its introduction in the Lords, the Marquis of Lansdowne lost no opportunity of strenuously enforcing the arguments in favour of the measure. In presenting a petition on the 13th of March, he dwelt on the increase in the number of Catholics in the thirty years during which the question had been agitated, and then proceeded—

"I can prove to your lordships that in proportion as their numbers have increased, so also has their edu-

cation increased, so also has their wealth increased, and so also have the people increased in those qualities which entitle them to become, with advantage to themselves and to the rest of the community, partakers of the benefits of a free constitution. . . . . The question which your lordships will shortly be called on to consider is, how far this class, powerful in numbers, in wealth, and intelligence, shall be left separated and detached from the great mass of the public; or whether it shall be inseparably linked and embodied with the interests of the state, to communicate to it and receive from it that life and spirit which gives strength and harmony to all parts of the constitution. . . . . Early in my political life, owing to the opinions I entertained on this subject, I had the misfortune to lose the confidence of the University of Cambridge, which I had represented in Parliament; but even then, at that early period in the history of sound opinions on this subject, a celebrated foundation in that University, of which I can never speak without the greatest respect—I mean Trinity College—ever foremost in the career of wisdom and liberality, anticipated the opinions to which the rest of the University has since arrived; and of the members of that extensive, learned, and always distinguished body, a large majority marked the continuance of their confidence in me. . . . . Let me not be told that the learned are opposed to a measure for the relief of the Catholics after the University had refused by a large majority, twenty years afterwards, to send a petition against it. . . . . From the exertions of the two Houses of Parliament, I may safely expect the settlement of this great question by a measure which will give peace—or, at least, lay the foundations of peace—where there has hitherto been strife, which will give strength where there has hitherto been weakness, and which will establish harmony, concord, tolerance, and

forbearance, in the place of intolerance, jealousy, and suspicion."

The second reading of the bill was moved, in the House of Lords, on the 2d of April; and on that occasion Lord Lansdowne again supported his opinions by an address of great ability, in which he said—

"Those animosities which have arisen, and those ebullitions of heat which have been displayed, never would have happened had the present measure been adopted at an earlier period, and been accompanied with a wise and statesmanlike policy. But the time is not yet too late. I feel grateful to his Majesty's Government, and to his Majesty, for the introduction of a measure, in which I see only security to the state, and which, when carried into effect in a liberal and conciliatory manner, will permanently unite to us six millions of people."

The second reading was carried by 217 against 112; and on the third reading, on the 10th of April, his lordship took leave of the subject in these words:—

"We stand at this moment upon the threshold of a great event, which is to give its colour to the future destinies of Ireland, and which, I confidently anticipate, will surround the fortunes of that country with brighter hues and hopes than have hitherto attended them. We are now no longer to govern Ireland by civil as well as military garrisons, but upon popular and equal principles. . . . . In spite of all predictions to the contrary, I maintain that this measure affords the best grounds of permanent prosperity, as well as the most efficacious means of resistance, if resistance should unhappily be required, against attempts to invade the Church or State."

Whatever may be the opinions now prevalent, as to how far the Act of Emancipation has or has not answered the expectations of those who supported it, no one can question the abstract justice of the claims

which the Marquis of Lansdowne was the first to admit and the foremost to advocate. In the course of that long contest, he ever observed the distinguishing trait in his political character—of treating with courtesy and urbanity those with whom he most differed; and the tone of moderation and dignity which he adopted at the outset, and preserved unimpaired throughout his long career, has had no small share in securing that general popularity with which he is now regarded.

The year 1830 was marked by events of immense importance. The accession of a popular monarch, and the passing away of one whose influence had usually been exerted in opposition to the popular will, strengthened the Liberal party, and gave vigour to their policy. The success of the French Revolution roused the longings of the people out of doors for an improved system of representation, and the celebrated declaration of "The Duke," that he would bring forward no measure of reform, and would resist any such proposal as long as he held office, instead of crushing the desire, only gave to it an accelerated impulse. The elections had been unfavourable to the ministry, and it was not long before an opportunity was found to place them in a minority. Resignation was the consequence; and Earl Grey succeeded to office, under whom the Marquis of Lansdowne undertook the duties of President of the Council, which he continued to discharge, excepting a brief interval, for the next ten years of his life. He had with his colleagues to maintain an arduous struggle on the Reform question before the consent of the Lords was extorted from them; and, under the most trying circumstances, he still preserved the same courteous demeanour and dignity of bearing. The general election which followed reduced the Tory opposition to a party insignificant in point of numbers, but powerful in ability and official experience; and the Grey administration had full opportunity to deal with those great questions which were pressing for

consideration and legislation, such as Education, Abolition of Slavery, Commutation of Tithes, Mitigation of Criminal Punishments, and Municipal Reform. In the first two of these subjects the President of the Council had already taken a distinguished part. His philanthropic spirit led him to impugn both the slavery of body cruelly maintained by brutal taskmasters, and the slavery of mind incident to a condition of absolute and unredeemed ignorance. He supported the bill of 1806, prohibiting the exportation of slaves to the British colonies, and the bill which followed it, prohibiting any more British vessels embarking in the trade. He supported Mr Fox's resolution, condemning the whole system and pointing to its extinction; and in 1807, when Lord Henry Petty, he moved the third reading of Lord Grenville's bill for the total abolition of the traffic.

It was a long and difficult path which led from the enunciation of a just principle to its actual accomplishment; yet still Lord Lansdowne laboured assiduously and unremittingly in that cause with which his generous sentiments accorded. In 1814 he moved, in the House of Lords, an address to the Regent, praying that the Grenville Act might be more effectually carried out; and in 1821 he returned to the subject. Ten years afterwards, it was discovered that any gradual preparation of the slaves for the enjoyment of rights as free men, which had been for years the object in view, must be abandoned as a total failure. The planters in the West Indies put themselves in offensive opposition to the government; and it was repugnant to the feelings of statesmen, as deeply as to the claims of humanity and justice, at such a time to abandon the unfortunate negroes to the arbitrary management of their owners. The issue was decided in favour of the helpless and oppressed. In 1833 the Emancipation Act received the royal assent; and with the credit which England has secured for herself in the page of distant history will be associated

the name of Lansdowne, whose sincerity equalled that of Brougham, or Wilberforce, or Garrison, or Buxton, or any of the most celebrated advocates of this righteous cause. After the brief administration of the Duke of Wellington, the marquis returned to his former position as President of the Council under Lord Melbourne. It is not necessary here to detail the different measures which were carried under Lord Melbourne's auspices; they fall within the recollection of a majority of readers, and perhaps have not yet developed their full effects. Sufficient be it, then, to say, that the subject of Tithe Commutation was settled in a manner which has afforded subsequent satisfaction to all parties; that Municipal Reform was recognised as necessary, and treated accordingly; and that the Irish Poor and the Irish Church were topics of lengthened discussion and experimental legislation. In June 1837, Victoria ascended the throne, and as she retained the ministers whom she found in office, she was the fourth sovereign whom the Marquis of Lansdowne had served. The favour of the Queen was, however, insufficient to save her ministers from constant defeats in the House of Commons; and in June 1841, the late Sir Robert Peel succeeded in affirming a specific vote of want of confidence in their policy. After the general election, resignation was rendered compulsory by amendments on the address being carried in both Houses by large majorities, and the Peel administration was formed. The incidents of the Chinese war, the Cabool disaster, the Rebecca riots, and the Repeal movement, are familiar to those who look (and how few do not!) to either some daily or weekly journal. The financial policy of that great statesman, whose removal from the theatre of his triumphs a whole nation mourned, requires no recapitulation here. It smoothed the way for the ultimate adoption of that freedom of trade which has now for more than six years been the guiding principle of all public men, and has

been attended with a measure of commercial prosperity before unequalled and unknown. The Corn Law debates were so protracted and voluminous, and the instruction afforded by the League lecturers was so extensive, that no question, perhaps, was ever so thoroughly understood as that of the free importation of foreign corn. Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington had once more to put the finishing stroke of legislation to a question which they had previously opposed, and power was transferred again to the Whigs, even with a shorter interval than that which followed the carrying of Catholic Emancipation.

With the formation of the Russell Cabinet of 1846 Lord Lansdowne returned to the Presidency of the Council, to advance the cause of National Education, which Lord Wharncliffe had endeavoured, with great earnestness, to promote. The principle had been adopted of making grants for the erection of school-houses and the management of schools in all cases where the parties seeking pecuniary aid could shew an equal amount of contributions from individuals, and Dissenters as well as Churchmen were invited to avail themselves of the Government assistance; but inasmuch as it was imprudent to apply public money to buildings without security against those buildings being turned to other uses, it was required that the school-houses should be vested in trustees, who were to possess the power of managing the schools. With this view, four alternative clauses were framed, as model clauses to be inserted in the trust-deeds, better known as the management clauses. In the case of Church schools, the trustees were to be composed of the clergyman and certain laymen; and in any dispute arising upon a religious question, reference was to be had to the bishop of the diocese. In the case of Dissenting schools, the trustees were to include the minister and certain laymen, and reference was provided, not to the bishop, but to proper arbiters. Some

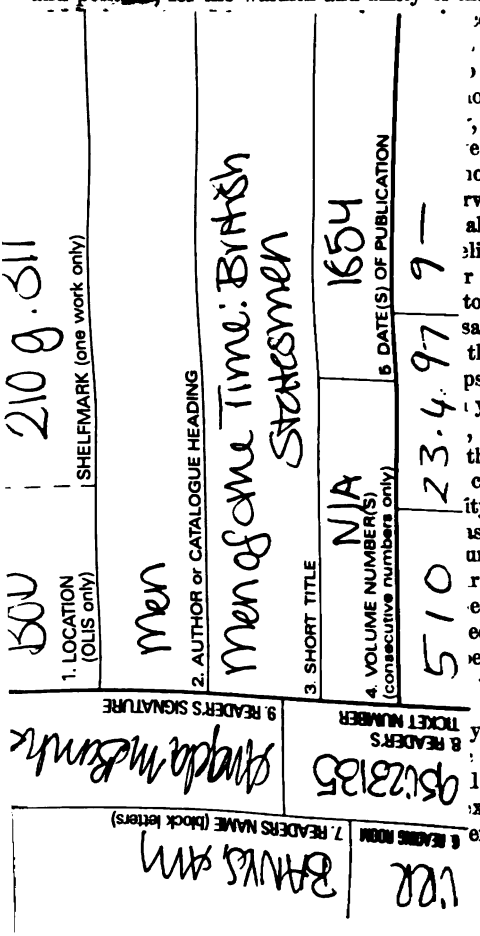
clergymen made it a ground of complaint that their schools would be more fettered than the schools of Dissenters; and it was sought to alter the clause applicable to Church schools so as virtually to throw the whole management into the hands of the clergyman. A contest arose between those clergymen who sought the alteration and those of their brethren who were favourable to the preservation of the lay element, in which Lord Lansdowne sided with the latter, and the management clauses were preserved intact whilst he remained in office. In 1847, the system of education was greatly improved; and in laying the minutes of council for that purpose before the House of Lords, the Marquis of Lansdowne said, "he fully felt that everything which Government could do must fall infinitely short of that which ought to be included in a general plan of improving the state and education of the people—far short of what ought to be done for the great mass of his fellow-countrymen, whose scenes of unceasing toil placed them far away from those elements of thought and means of intellectual culture upon which so much of their morality and their happiness depended. It fell so far short of what it ought to be, that he should almost despair of ultimate success if, from experience and observation, he had not seen the zeal upon the subject of education which pervaded all denominations of men in this country." The system thus extended and improved has since been pursued with the happiest results; and doubtless the noble marquis is now more sanguine than ever of that ultimate success which his own zeal and ability will have had no small share in producing.

The other questions with which Lord John Russell's administration dealt are questions which can scarcely be said to be wholly settled. The initiation of a course of law reform was taken with the establishment of the county courts, and that measure has wrought a most important change in the administration of justice. Uni-

versity reform and the admission of Jews to Parliament are still subjects for discussion, and await the decision of Parliament. Having brought in a second Reform Bill, and having failed thereby to strengthen his party, Lord John Russell resigned upon a verbal amendment in the title of a bill for raising a militia force. After announcing the retirement of ministers on the 23d of February 1852, the Marquis of Lansdowne took leave of official life, in words which made a deep impression on those who heard them :—

"What I have said I have said on behalf of the Government with which I am connected, and the colleagues with whom I have had the honour and happiness to act. But, my lords, considering the position in which I feel myself to stand, and considering it is, I will say, most improbable—I ought to add a stronger word—that I shall again, under any circumstances, address your lordships from this bench, I may be permitted to add a few words upon that part of the communication I have to make to your lordships. My lords, it shall, as long as I have life and health, be considered a part of my duty to attend to the proceedings of this House upon the various important impending questions, in times most eventful, and which, I am afraid, will long continue to be eventful. I shall feel it to be my duty to take a part in some questions of great public interest, and more particularly it will be most satisfactory to me to take a part upon one of those questions, if it should come hereafter to be presented to your lordships—it will be most satisfactory to me to give my opinion on that question unbiassed and untrammelled by official relations. But, though I may feel it to be my duty to attend the House for such purposes as I have referred to, I think the time has arrived when I may reasonably dispense with a constant or—if I may use the expression—compulsory attendance upon the proceedings of

this House. With that feeling, I cannot sit down on this occasion without, in the first place, thanking all my noble friends whom I see around me, both personal and political, for the warmth and amity of that support




ed. But, this place the great ords oppo-, and for-e displayed ope it will rved in the all violence ling, which r lordships' to maintain satisfaction, that course ps will best you derive , whatever the wish of continue to ity, because asion within untry, with r lordships een hastily ecessary to een, at the to destroy y, the new absence of l on behalf xpressed a embered as

coming from the highest authority in that House, both in experience, in dignity of bearing, and in courtesy of manner; and that the noble marquis would long be able to afford the benefit of his advice, and the valuable examples of his virtues and his eloquence.

This is the point at which it would seem most natural to conclude the notice of his lordship's political career; but that career is not yet closed, and many years may yet pass before his eventful history finally terminates. We have no doubt we are recording the common wish of the nation when we add a hope that his valuable services will be greatly prolonged; for, though they may not advance the high reputation he has already achieved, they may be of infinite advantage to the public whom he serves. The events of 1852, which led to the fall of the Derby ministry, are fresh in the recollection of the youngest among us, and it is therefore only necessary to say that, on the Earl of Derby tendering the resignation of himself and colleagues, her Majesty sent for Lord Lansdowne to advise her, in the same spirit in which our late illustrious hero was more than once consulted by the sovereign under similar circumstances. The Earl of Aberdeen was to have accompanied him to Osborne; but, finding his lordship confined to his apartments by indisposition, the noble earl awaited her Majesty's further commands. Those commands were speedily forwarded; and, upon an interview with her Majesty, the Earl of Aberdeen was intrusted with the task of forming an administration. That task was facilitated by the generous impulses of the public men he solicited, and with a perfect abnegation of self, they one and all consented to take such offices as would best conform with the public interest. The Aberdeen Cabinet will long be remembered as a combination of illustrious statesmen, amongst whom, without holding office, the subject of this notice will deservedly rank high in the estimation

of his colleagues, and receive that consideration which his former services, his character, and his long experience properly command.

When we review the political life of the Marquis of Lansdowne, extending over more than fifty years, we are struck with its remarkable consistency. We see that those principles which he adopted at the beginning of the century, with so little prospect of diffusion amongst his contemporaries, are not only generally acknowledged, but universally followed by statesmen of all parties. They have been embodied in the statute-book, and recognised as the basis and framework of modern legislation. The change of parties which drew his lordship into official connexion with no less than eight prime ministers induced no change in his convictions and no modification of his views. He set out with a love of religious and civil equality, and thirty years afterwards he hailed the emancipation of the Catholics from those disabilities which were oppressive, because unjust. The cause of the unfortunate slaves appealed at once to his benevolence and philanthropy, and he rejoiced in the full measure of freedom which, after a lapse of nearly forty years, was consummated at the expense of a highly-taxed community, and attended with unfading glory to the national character. When restrictions on trade were scarcely thought of, or if thought of only associated with the false notion of securing thereby commercial prosperity, he ably argued against the soundness of the policy which dictated the imposition of unnecessary fetters. It is not extraordinary, then, that such a man should be allowed to speak on public questions with a degree of authority not conceded to any other statesman in the British Parliament, or that he should have exercised a beneficial influence in moderating the views of his political friends, and rendering their measures more acceptable to those by whom they were opposed. Such authority and such influence must be

regarded as the proper reward of a long life of usefulness, and as the honourable acknowledgment of high character and unimpeachable reputation.

It alone remains for us, with a brevity consonant with the modesty, if not with the merits of the nobleman whose public career we have endeavoured to sketch, to touch upon the personal qualities which adorn his private life. With an equable temper, a cultivated taste, and a refined mind, no one could be better qualified for all the enjoyments of domestic life; and there is every reason to believe that Lansdowne House has bountifully afforded those quiet pleasures which spring from the ties of affection, the solicitude of friendship, and the attractions of home. Thrown in early life amongst men of eminence in literature, science, and art, he imbibed a love of letters and a respect for genius which made it his happiness and pride to gather round him those who possessed the powers of ministering to his intellectual disposition; and there are few amongst contemporary writers and artists who have achieved greatness, that do not warmly acknowledge the unassuming and graceful encouragement they have received from the noble marquis. His lordship, though rather below than above the middle height, has a dignified bearing and pleasant countenance. When he addresses the House, his tones, if not sweet, are persuasive, and his voice, if not clear, is impressive. His diction displays an accurate, finished education; and though he can scarcely be said to be eloquent, the cultivation of mind, which is apparent, captivates the ear and delights the understanding.

The family mansion in Berkeley Square is one of the most elegant and sumptuous among the town palaces of the nobility. The ceilings are decorated by the pencil of Cipriani; and the collection of paintings is one of the choicest in London. The present marquis recovered it from the widow of his half-brother, the second marquis, the settlement upon that lady not having been

duly executed. The family residence is a splendid palace, at Bowood, which the first marquis reclaimed from a mere bog. In accordance with his taste for literature, he appropriated a magnificent room, 110 feet in length, as the library, ornamented with Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman statues, and employed Cipriani to paint the ceiling from the antiquities of Herculaneum. There he collected a magnificent library of the most valuable works in all languages, but specially complete on the subject of English politics, and comprehending every work published on the French Revolution. On his son succeeding in 1805 he sold the whole by auction, and the pamphlets were purchased for and transferred to the British Museum, much to the regret, no doubt, of the present marquis, who inherited more of his father's delight in letters than his half-brother, of yachting celebrity. The estates of the family were acquired, as we have before stated, by Sir William Petty, and on the death of the second marquis were estimated at fully £30,000 a year. They lie principally in Wiltshire, in England, but those in Ireland are distributed through several counties. The present marquis, by the settlement of his father, and the death of his half-brother without issue, became possessed of the estates in both kingdoms. By his marriage with Lady Louisa Strangeways he had two sons and a daughter. His eldest son, the Earl of Kerry, died in 1836, leaving a widow and daughter; his second son, the Earl of Shelburne, is therefore heir to the title and estates.

# LORD PALMERSTON.

HENRY JOHN TEMPLE, third Viscount Palmerston, in the Irish peerage, was born in the year 1784, and is consequently now in his sixty-ninth year. His lordship is descended from a family whose genealogical tree goes back to a period of remote antiquity, and good evidence is brought to shew that they had acquired distinction in this country anterior even to the period of the conquest. The surname which they now bear points evidently to a connexion with the celebrated Knights Templars, whose policy it was to designate all the lands of which they became possessed by the name of the Temple, for whose recovery from the hands of the Saracens their association was originally formed; and on the confiscation of the estates of the order, some of their possessions passed into the hands of the ancestor of the noble lord, who seems to have assumed the surname from the estate. About the time of the Reformation the family separated into two branches; the elder eventually merged in a female, who, by her union with the house of Grenville, founded the present noble family of Buckingham and Chandos; the head of the younger branch passed to Ireland, where he held various lucrative appointments, and from him in direct descent the subject of the present memoir is descended. It is worth noticing, too, that Sir William Temple, the celebrated statesman in the reign of Charles II., the author of the "Triple Alliance" between England, Holland, and Sweden,

which bridled Louis XIV. in the midst of his conquests, was a member of the same family. The name of Temple may, therefore, well be considered to have earned for itself an honourable place in the annals of English history.

The father of Lord Palmerston died while he was in his nineteenth year, so that his lordship succeeded to the title before he was of age. He had been early sent to the University of Cambridge, where he distinguished himself in his studies, and gave token of those eminent abilities which were afterwards to win him honour in a higher sphere. How profound an impression the youthful nobleman must have made upon his contemporaries may be gathered from the fact, that he was scarcely of age when the Tory members of the University selected him as their champion for the representation of the University in Parliament. Cambridge was then, and had long been, the Whig University, as Oxford was considered the stronghold of Toryism; but the feeling of Liberalism which had distinguished Cambridge—probably as much as anything else from a spirit of rivalry—from the sister University of Oxford ever since the time of the Revolution, was at the beginning of this century beginning to lose its hold upon the cloistered inmates of the halls and colleges on the banks of the Cam; the Revolution principles were dying out, and the spirit of the old Stuart doctrine of "divine right" was beginning to resume its sway. The Tory members were therefore only too glad to obtain the services of an individual high in rank and wealth, with promising talents, and professing principles congenial to their own. For it is not the least remarkable among the points of the noble lord's career that he entered public life as a Tory of the highest order; and his gradual changes from the principles with which he started to his present Liberal position may be taken as a type of the change which has gradually come over

the whole nation, with a few insignificant exceptions, since that period. When Lord Palmerston was first proposed as a candidate, he was opposed by the young Lord Henry Petty, the present Marquis of Lansdowne, and it is not a little singular that men who have spent more than twenty years of their lives in the closest political relations, being for the greater part of the time, indeed, members of the same cabinet, should have begun so inauspiciously as to be rivals and antagonists to each other for the same seat in the legislature. Little did either foresee at that time what important parts they were to play together in the after history of their country. The immediate occasion of the vacancy which brought these two statesmen into competition was the death, in 1806, of Mr Pitt, who had formerly been the member, and the prize of succession to his seat was justly considered a splendid one. It was borne off on this occasion by Lord Henry Petty. The honour, however, was postponed only, not denied. At the next general election he obtained the seat, which he held uninterruptedly till 1831, when his old constituents, alarmed at his joining a Liberal ministry, and at the prospect of a Reform Bill, rejected him. He found a place in the nomination borough of Bletchingley, which he retained till the Reform Bill was passed, and that borough swept away. He then offered himself for the representation of South Hants, in which his estate of Broadlands is situated, and was successful; but this seat also was only retained for one Parliament. The Conservative reaction in the country, which followed so closely upon the passing of the Reform Bill, drove him from that county at the very next general election in 1834. In a few months afterwards, however, Mr Kennedy, who had been elected for Tiverton, resigned his seat in his favour, and the seat thus opened to him he has held ever since without interruption, and, we believe, without a contest.

It has already been mentioned that Lord Palmerston entered public life as a Tory. At that period, indeed, the fortunes of the Whigs were at a low ebb. Their short tenure of office in 1806, thwarted as they had been by royal dislike, had done much to discredit their principles throughout the country; their sentiments with regard to the continuance of the war were then held in almost universal abhorrence; many of their own party had deserted them and gone over to the ministry, who had resolved to maintain hostilities at any cost. Toryism was everywhere in the ascendant. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that the brilliant young nobleman, fresh from college, and with all the enthusiasm of youth, should have espoused the popular principles of the day. He first entered office as Secretary at War in the Duke of Portland's administration, in 1809, on the resignation of Lord Castlereagh, who had quarrelled with Mr Canning, then Foreign Secretary. It is remarkable that he continued to hold that one office through the long period from 1809 to 1828, without any interruption, and without ever rising to a higher office. But at that early period the situation of Secretary at War involved greater powers than it does now. At the present period, the holder of the office is understood to arrange the civil and financial affairs connected with the army: at the beginning of the century, the secretary had the power of directing foreign expeditions; and it was for his share in the unfortunate Walcheren expedition that Castlereagh, the immediate predecessor of Lord Palmerston, was turned out of office, on the remonstrance of Canning: who, though he then held the superior post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was unable to prevent the expedition from sailing. That ministry soon afterwards came to an end: it was reconstructed by the exclusion of Mr Canning, Mr Perceval being the prime minister; but in all these changes Lord Palmerston continued to hold his office. Not yet had ripened

that devotion to the cause of Mr Canning which was so conspicuous in after years, and which induced Lord Palmerston to relinquish the party he had so long followed and to make common cause with the brilliant commoner. It was manifest, however, that the dazzling eloquence, the keen wit, and the broad humour of Canning, possessed great attractions for a mind of such kindred temperament as that of the noble lord. One of the first questions on which the Tory party exhibited signs of difference of opinion indicative of the growing liberality of the age, was that of Roman Catholic emancipation. Canning—though a strong opponent of most measures which were associated with democratic principles—though opposed till the termination of his life to the cause of reform—though refusing to repeal even the Test and Corporation Acts—had very early adopted from his master, Pitt, the principle that it was just and politic to admit the Roman Catholics to Parliament; and in that opinion Lord Palmerston early joined him. His lordship seems, at this time, to have seldom addressed the House. Indeed, his taciturnity was long afterwards lamented by Canning, who fully appreciated his abilities, and was provoked by his laziness. More than once, when pressed by the talent arrayed in opposition to him, he is said to have half bitterly, half earnestly expressed his regret that he had not been able to get "that three-decker Palmerston to bear down upon them." But the subject that most thoroughly secured his sympathies, and induced him to overcome his habitual unwillingness to address the House, was that of Catholic emancipation. The speeches he delivered were considered by the friends of the cause to be so important for its advancement, that they were often printed in a separate form; and the speech he made in the closing struggle in 1829 was reckoned, by excellent judges of parliamentary eloquence, to be among the most able that that great national emergency called forth. It was

well known that the Earl of Liverpool, who was then prime minister, allowed the question to remain an open one in his Cabinet. Peel and Canning, the champions of the two antagonistic forces on this question, maintained opposite views, each with a small knot of adherents to their respective sides. When the schism in the party and in the Cabinet had reached its height through the death of Lord Liverpool, and Peel and his friends resigned office rather than serve under a premier who was favourable to Catholic emancipation, Lord Palmerston remained with his friend; but even then he does not seem to have aspired to any higher office. He held the secretaryship during the few months of Canning's premiership, and the few months more of the feeble administration of Lord Goderich; and even when the Duke of Wellington took office in 1828, Lord Palmerston, with a few of Canning's friends, continued to hold place. But the period was at hand when he was to be widely dissevered from his former associates, and to stand forth in his true position as a Liberal.

The question of parliamentary reform had by this time (1829) made great impression on men's minds. The very question of Catholic emancipation, happily settled in this year, had converted many old Tories into Reformers, for they stoutly contended, that had the people been fairly represented in Parliament such a measure never would have been carried. As yet, however, there were no outward indications of that tempest of agitation which was so soon afterwards to burst forth; but various little circumstances served to shew that the people's interest was setting in that direction, and that the question of a reform in Parliament, more or less sweeping, was a mere affair of time. It was at this period that the borough of East Retford, a small town in Nottinghamshire, notoriously under the influence of the Duke of Newcastle, was declared by a committee of the House of Commons to be guilty of corruption, and

to have forfeited its privilege of returning members to Parliament. The question arose, What was to be done with the two seats that were thus forfeited? Lord John Russell, and the Whig party generally, proposed that the seats should be transferred to Manchester, the second town in the empire, which, singular as it seems now to us, was at that time without representatives. The Duke of Wellington, however, determined that the franchise of East Retford should be extended to the farmers of the adjacent Hundred of Rassetlow—a measure which obviously tended only to strengthen the influence of the Duke of Newcastle. On this question the friends of Mr Canning, Lord Palmerston, Mr Huskisson, and one or two others, voted with the Whigs, and against their own colleagues. They had so long been accustomed to act in governments which treated the most important subjects of the day as "open questions," that they probably thought their vote, if an offence to their colleagues at all, was a very venial one. Mr Huskisson, indeed, is said to have written a letter to his chief, offering, if the vote was considered offensive, to resign his seat in the government; but he probably regarded the matter as one of mere form; and he was so surprised to find that he was taken at his word, and superseded, that it is said he wrote back to the duke intimating that he feared there was some mistake. He little knew the habits of decision which long years of military command had wrought in the duke's mind. He wrote back in language which has since become proverbial—"There is no mistake—there can be no mistake—there shall be no mistake." Mr Huskisson was therefore removed from office; and with him went Lord Palmerston and the other Liberal members. It is needless to add, that the Government they left was of short duration—their declaration against all reform was fatal to them—a new reign, a general election, and the French Revolution of 1830, were events against which

they could not contend. Earl Grey, after remaining in opposition for twenty-four years, became prime minister; he immediately associated with some of the old Whigs, the survivors of Canning's and Huskisson's friends—poor Huskisson had himself been killed a few months before at the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool railway—and Lord Palmerston had at last the position assigned him for which he had so long been preparing, in his appointment to the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

The foreign policy of the new ministers was not long in being put to the test. The French Revolution of July, which was carried as it were by a *coup de main*, and was accomplished almost as soon as it was attempted, had been promptly recognised by Lord Aberdeen, in the Duke of Wellington's Government; but there were other revolutions in Europe, not so immediately successful, with which Lord Palmerston was called on to deal. The principles on which Lord Grey took office were explained by him to consist of three words—"reform, retrenchment, and peace." By many persons "peace" was construed to mean non-interference with the affairs of foreign nations, but the Whig Cabinet soon made it manifest that that was not the construction they put upon their own watchword. Non-interference, indeed, so far as armed intervention was concerned—but that did not exclude the right of England to interfere, by advice, encouragement, or remonstrance, as the case might be, with all other nations where a struggle was going on between arbitrary power and constitutional freedom. Among the convulsions in Europe which the French Revolution had caused was an insurrection in Poland, which excited the most intense interest throughout both France and England; and we believe nothing would have been more popular at the time in both those countries than a declaration of war against Russia on behalf of the Poles. But Poland lay far away, land-

locked in the heart of Eastern Europe, and surrounded by Austria, Prussia, and Russia, all three of which would have made common cause in defence of despotism, for all were participators in the original injustice of the partition of Poland. The insurgents, therefore, who maintained themselves for some time with extraordinary gallantry, were left to their fate; no voice was raised on their behalf by the diplomacy of Western Europe, and Russia triumphed over the gallant insurgents. It was different with a country nearer home, and more easily accessible — the present kingdom of Belgium. That country, which has for centuries been the battle-field of Europe, had been for a long time in an anomalous position. About the time of the Reformation an appanage of Spain, it participated with Holland in the just views of the war of independence; but while the maritime states of Holland were enabled to baffle all the efforts of the Spaniards, the open country to the south had been crushed by the ferocity of Alva, and soothed into submission by the mild administration of Parma. The provinces were afterwards handed over to Austria, but for centuries they had never had a native government. In the first French Revolution the country had been speedily overrun and occupied by the French troops, notwithstanding the many fortified cities which were intended as a barrier against French incursions. When that flood of military fanaticism was at last driven back and confined to its own boundaries, and when the Congress of Vienna met to partition out Europe according to the new arrangement which recent changes had made necessary, Austria renewed its claims to Belgium as a compensation for Italy, but that country was annexed to its neighbour Holland. The intention was to form out of the two one strong state which would be able to resist future outbreaks on the part of France; and with the same object, the border fortresses in Belgium were strengthened and increased; and it was

thought that France was now effectually curbed on that side of her boundaries. But it was forgotten to take into account that Belgium and Holland, lying close to each other, had nourished that principle of antagonistic dislike which seems inherent in countries that touch but do not amalgamate. The differences, such as they were, were influenced by religion, for Holland was Protestant and Presbyterian—Belgium was rigidly Roman Catholic. It was not to be wondered at, therefore, that at the first signal of insurrection in Europe the Belgians should run to arms, and endeavour to free themselves from what they considered an odious domination; for it may be remarked, that though Belgium was much the larger and more populous country, it wanted the usual energy of Protestant states, and the administration was essentially Dutch. At the first bursting forth of the insurrection the Dutch troops were expelled from all the Belgian towns except the citadel of Antwerp, which, being of great strength and well garrisoned, bid defiance to all the assaults of the insurgents. It is possible that if the two parties had been left entirely to themselves, the Dutch would have eventually recovered their hold over the country; but no sooner had the insurrection become known than France was stirred to its depths. Intrigues were set on foot to annex the country altogether to France; and there was a large party in Belgium itself to whom the project would not have been disagreeable; but none of the other powers of Europe would have stood by and seen such a derangement of the balance of power in Europe. It is remarkable, however, that just as England and France held aloof in the case of Poland, so, and for the same reason, the three northern powers held reluctantly aloof in the settlement of the affairs of Holland and Belgium, leaving it to France and England to arrange the question. So far as this country was concerned, the negotiations fell entirely into the hands of Lord Palmerston. These negotiations in-

volved questions of great delicacy and difficulty. To allow Belgium to set up as an independent state was to violate the arrangements that had been solemnly made at the Congress of Vienna, and that consideration was the more important as it was the first serious departure from the European settlement established at that Congress. It was more than this,—it was a deliberate weakening of that power which had fifteen years before been erected at so much cost against French ambition, and that, too, precisely at a moment when the stirrings of French ambition began to be felt in Europe. Then, supposing it were decided that Belgium should be separated from Holland, the question came, what was to be its future fate? With regard to its annexation to France, indeed, that was not to be thought of for a moment. All Europe would have resisted such an arrangement—England among the foremost. It seemed, therefore, that the only course left was to erect Belgium into a separate state; but the question recurred, what was to be the nature of its government? The extreme party —those who had been most active in the revolution—were in favour of establishing a republic, but the great powers looked upon such a termination of the difficulty with an unfriendly eye. It would be a constant stimulus to the republican party in France to see a republic established on the other side of their own territory. A constitutional kingdom was therefore to be erected; but the difficulty remained, where to find a king? what scion of royalty among all the crowned families of Europe should be invested with the diadem of this new state, who would not by his very election excite the jealousy and mistrust of all the other powers?

These were questions which might well task the brightest intellect in Europe, the mind most fertile in resource, in solving them. They constituted Lord Palmerston's first essay in the higher walks of statesmanship; and, looking back from the present period, it

must be owned that he acquitted himself well. These were the questions he kept constantly before him, that Belgium should have a constitutional government, and that the interests of England should not suffer. Hence he resisted steadily and successfully every attempt to turn the Belgian revolution to the advantage of France, and by his skilful management he contrived that Prince Leopold, the widowed husband of the late Princess Charlotte, who had resided in England since the death of his wife, should be elevated to the throne, while France was propitiated by a marriage between Leopold and the daughter of Louis Philippe. It was long before these negotiations were finally adjusted; despatch followed despatch, and protocol answered protocol, while friends looked on in wondering impatience, and foes with undisguised sneers. The matter was still farther complicated by the fact, that General Chasse, who held the citadel of Antwerp for his master the King of Holland, refused to surrender; so that France, with the consent of England, was obliged to besiege the place in form. The bombardment lasted several days, during all which time there was the greatest risk that the northern powers might gather courage enough to come to the rescue, which would infallibly have lighted up the flame of a general war in Europe. But the firm agreement between England and France on the principle of Belgian independence, even at the moment they were differing on the details, awed the northern powers, and compelled them to look on in silence. Antwerp was surrendered when a breach was made practicable, and Leopold was put in full possession of his kingdom. The results so far have justified the wisdom of Lord Palmerston, without war or bloodshed, by mere negotiation and protocolling, which, if often tedious, were at all events peaceful. The tranquillity of Europe was maintained in the face of appearances so threatening, that it was said at the time, even if an

angel from heaven were in the Foreign Office, he could not preserve peace for three months; and, at the same time, another constitutional government was added to the family of European kingdoms. It is true this was accomplished by a departure from the old traditional policy of England, and by putting into the hands of parties, who might be powerless or even indisposed to defend them, those border fortresses which constituted the only obstacle to the breaking forth of France on that quarter, but which in the hands of France herself constituted so strong a barrier against aggression from without, as had been proved in all her wars, whether with Charles V., with Marlborough, or with the Allied Powers in 1799. It may be questioned, however, what good would have been gained by forcing Belgium back into an unwilling connexion with Holland; which the European powers could certainly have accomplished, but which the reluctant party would have broken through at the first moment of European disturbance, carrying with them into the arms of France the very fortresses that were given them to hold against her. Instead of this, we have now an independent kingdom, with the people attached to the institutions under which they live, and who have proved that they are both able and willing to govern themselves, without following the lead of their neighbour's example.

Scarcely was this knotty question settled, when another of equal importance and equal delicacy arose. The western peninsula had long been in a precarious state. The kingdom of Portugal had been settled—we hardly know by what other term to express the arrangement—upon Donna Maria, the grand-daughter of the King of Portugal and of the Brazils, with the arrangement that she should marry, by dispensation from the Pope, her uncle, Don Miguel. That prince, however, did not approve of the arrangement—went to Portugal at his father's death, while his affianced wife was far away in

the Brazils—usurped the throne, and repudiated the marriage-contract. The friends of Donna Maria took arms, and, after some reverses, managed, chiefly by the help of Sir Charles Napier and some English sailors, to expel Don Miguel from the kingdom, and to establish the young lady upon a constitutional throne. In Spain the course of events was somewhat different, but the end was much the same. King Ferdinand—the dupe and tool of Bonaparte, the dupe and butcher of the friends of liberty in his kingdom—had, towards the latter part of his reign, married a daughter of the King of Naples, by whom he had two children, both daughters. The old law of the kingdom, established ever since the accession of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish throne was, that no female should ever wear the crown of Spain. That was a main condition in the Treaty of Utrecht, the object being to prevent a French prince from marrying the Spanish queen, and so uniting the two kingdoms into one. It had been thus a law imposed upon Spain by the influence of foreign powers; but, from the time of the Treaty of Utrecht downwards, there had been no occasion of putting it in force. Now, however, Ferdinand felt naturally anxious to secure the succession of the crown to his own children, rather than that it should go to his brother, Don Carlos, who, as the law then stood, was the next heir to the throne. As Carlos would not give up his rights, Ferdinand bethought himself of gaining the consent of the Cortes to the alteration of this fundamental law of the kingdom, and to decree that females should be admitted to reign. To gain their consent, however, it was necessary that the old absolutist maxims of government should be given up, and that a constitutional system should be established. By slow degrees he advanced—by slow degrees the Cortes trusted him; but the end was gained at last—the law was altered, and Ferdinand's daughters were declared his heirs. Almost as soon as

that decree was issued he died, and his death was the signal for lighting up the flames of civil war. The friends of freedom rallied round the young queen, in whose name the government was administered by her mother. Around Carlos were gathered the abettors of tyranny, nearly all the priesthood, and the northern provinces of the kingdom, whose ancient rights the Liberals, with that pedantic regard to uniformity which is the error of modern reformers, proposed to abolish. The war was, as all wars in Spain are, long protracted and bloody. Again the other powers were called upon to interfere, and again the diplomacy of Lord Palmerston was called into active exertion. The northern powers were all on the side of despotism, and there was an influential party in this country who looked with regret on the policy which allowed the barrier that the wisdom of our ancestors had erected against the possible union of France and Spain to be thus easily swept away, and who gave their active and open sympathy to the cause of Don Carlos. But with the great body of the nation the matter was looked upon in a different light—with them it was the cause of liberty against despotism, of freedom of thought against priestly power. It was especially in this light that it was regarded by Lord Palmerston. From the first his sympathies were on the side of the young queen, and all the aid that could be given by the moral support of England was cheerfully afforded. But in this instance Lord Palmerston went farther. Chiefly through his instrumentality the celebrated quadruple treaty was formed between England, France, Spain, and Portugal, by which each of the contracting powers engaged to defend the existing monarchies in the Peninsula against all attempts to displace them. This treaty effectually overawed Russia, Austria, and Prussia, who were again meditating active support to Don Carlos, and the two parties were again left to fight it out themselves. But

the assistance of England went further than mere moral support. With the sanction of the Government, a band of men for the Spanish service was raised in this country, under the name of the Spanish Legion, which, however, did nothing worthy of the country's reputation; and a British squadron was stationed off the north coast of Spain—the principal seat of the war—with instructions to aid the queen's troops and to annoy Don Carlos, whenever either came within their reach. This was the nearest approach to armed interference that Lord Palmerston attempted, with a single exception, in the whole course of his career. The policy of it was, as we have already intimated, much questioned at the time, and it was upon this subject that Lord Palmerston first came seriously into collision with his rival for so many years—now his chief—Lord Aberdeen. That nobleman quarrelled with the whole tenor of the Whig policy, insisted that non-interference meant neutrality, and asked how Lord Palmerston would work out the quadruple treaty supposing, which in Lord Aberdeen's opinion was not unlikely, Don Carlos should make his way to Madrid, and expel his niece from the throne and the country. Would England still feel herself bound by the obligations of this treaty to maintain war against Spain for the restoration of Donna Maria? Others compared Don Carlos, in his attempts to vindicate the old law of succession in his own person, as in the same position with Henry IV. of France, who was attempted to be thrust out from the throne in consequence of his religion; and, like him too, it was contended that Don Carlos was the popular monarch in the eyes of the Spanish people. Against these arguments, which were chiefly urged in the House of Lords, Lord Palmerston and his policy found an able and eloquent defender in the person of the prime minister, Earl Grey, who fully participated with his foreign secretary in the desire to see consti-

tutional freedom diffused over the Continent, by the peaceful aid and encouragement of England. There can be no doubt that the aid thus afforded by England to the cause of Queen Donna Isabella, materially contributed to place and keep her on the throne; but, in truth, the struggle, though a protracted, was never a doubtful one, nor could any delusion have been more unfounded than that which represented the cause of Don Carlos as popular among the people. In a land so distracted as Spain has ever been, he could doubtless count upon partisans in every province of the kingdom; but in none of them was his cause taken up by the people in a body, except in the four northern or (as they are called) Basque provinces, and by them only, because they identified him with the maintenance of certain privileges which the Liberals universally proposed to deprive them of, in order to make a uniform set of laws for the whole kingdom, and which the Basques were determined not to abandon. How much of their pertinacity in resistance ought to be attributed to this source is proved from the fact, that when at last the queen's party resolved to yield the point, and to allow the Basques the exercise of their old and immemorial usages, the war was at once at an end, and Don Carlos became an exile from the soil of Spain.

The establishment of Donna Isabella on the throne of Spain, and of Donna Maria on the throne of Portugal, were not the last of the services which England rendered to the crowned heads of the Peninsula in virtue of the quadruple treaty. It is well known that so soon as the pressure of civil war was withdrawn both these sovereigns voluntarily allied themselves to counsellors who were much more disposed to administer the country on the arbitrary principles of the expelled usurpers than on those of constitutional liberty, which they had at first professed. In Portugal these matters had gone

so far, that the assembly of representatives of the people was suppressed, all popular opinion was silenced, and the country was fast returning to arbitrary government. The opposite party flew to arms; and the popular feeling was so strong that the queen and her advisers were left absolutely powerless in the hands of her people. Donna Maria called upon her sister Queen of Spain, for assistance, in virtue of the quadruple treaty; but a more powerful queen than either—the Queen of England—interfered. Lord Palmerston, ever watchful of what threatened to overturn his own handiwork, sent off a despatch to the Portuguese Government, begging that Spanish troops might not be allowed to enter the Portuguese territory, and offering in place of them the mediation of England between the Portuguese Government and the insurgents. He stipulated, however, that this mediation must be on the basis that the Portuguese constitution should be restored in its first integrity, and that all the reasonable demands of the insurgents should be complied with. The queen, fortunately for herself, accepted the mediation; for the insurgents, who had been swelled by numbers, and had made themselves masters of Oporto, the second city in the kingdom, were ready to defy both the Spanish and the Portuguese troops, and began to talk of expelling the queen from the throne altogether. When Lord Palmerston's agent proposed to them that they should lay down their arms on the basis of the mediation already explained, they flatly refused to do so, and prepared to attack Lisbon by an expedition proceeding from Oporto by sea. Lord Palmerston, who had made up his mind at all hazards to put down intestine war in that country, issued instructions to the British fleet then lying in the Tagus to intercept this expedition, which was done accordingly, just as the expedition from Oporto cleared the mouth of the Douro; and the civil war, which had been raging for some months, was thus effectually put down.

Thoroughly to understand the energy, promptitude, and decision which Lord Palmerston manifested in these latter difficulties, it must be remembered that while he was thus bringing the whole power and influence of England to bear on these foreign questions, the Government, of which he was a member, was itself in a tottering condition, and might any day be prostrated in the dust. It was when the fate of the Government depended in the House of Commons on a majority of from twenty to thirty members, and on the fidelity of whom no reliance could be placed, that the administration spoke in the potential tone we have referred to, and made the weight of England to be felt in distant nations. The ministers might have well been excused if, in the uncertain and precarious tenure by which they held office, they had allowed foreign affairs to take care of themselves, and concentrated all their energy on the endeavour to build up the majority at home on which their existence depended. But, instead of this, we find them, however feeble they might be in their domestic policy, as firm and decided in their foreign policy as if they had a majority of one hundred at their back. This was exemplified in their relations with the Peninsula; it was still more strikingly exemplified in the subsequent interference in the affairs of Syria.

To understand the subject, it is necessary to mention that the Pacha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, originally a vassal and deputy of the Grand Seignior, had, by the force of his character and the ability of his administration, raised himself to a position of virtual independence—thus severing Egypt from the Turkish empire. Not content with this achievement, Mehemet, seconded by his son Ibrahim, who was on many points an abler man than his father, invaded Syria also; and as the Turkish troops that were sent to oppose him were neither equal in numbers nor discipline to the Egyptian soldiers, whom the Egyptian ruler had drilled and

equipped in the European manner, he speedily overran the country, and wrested Syria from Turkey, to add it to his own possession of Egypt. But his conquests were watched with an anxious eye by the great European powers. Turkey has for almost a century owed its independent existence solely to the jealousies subsisting among the great powers of Europe, who, unwilling to allow that splendid portion of the earth to fall into the hands of any one of their number—Russia being the power which is most dreaded as likely to seize Constantinople, if allowed by her neighbours—have agreed to maintain her as she is as long as possible, and to postpone to a date as distant as the imbecility of Turkey will allow, the period when her once powerful empire will fall to pieces from internal decay. But the wrenching of Syria, in addition to Egypt, from the dominion of the Sultan, was a precipitation of that event equally to be deprecated by all the countries which did not desire to profit themselves, nor to see others profit, by the position of the Turkish empire. Among these were especially England and Austria. Lord Palmerston's attention had been called to the question from a very early period; and he had been unceasing in his endeavours to persuade France, Austria, and Prussia to enter into a league for the preservation of the integrity of the Ottoman empire. The other powers entered with great alacrity into his measures; but France, under the administration of M. Thiers, held back; it was generally understood from some lingering sympathy with the principles which dictated Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt and Syria, and a desire to accomplish by diplomatic relations with Mehemet that which the great conqueror sought to effect by force of arms—a controlling power on the part of France in Syrian and Egyptian affairs. The consequence was, that a great deal of protocolling took place, and various suggestions were made by Lord Palmerston, with a view to induce

France to join in the interference in such a way as would not wound her own sense of duty; but M. Thiers ingeniously contrived to raise objections to each scheme as it was proposed, thus effectually staying the course of European action, and allowing his friend Mehemet Ali to establish himself firmly in Syria. His design was, however, penetrated by the clear-sighted Englishman; and, in the course of 1840, a treaty was suddenly signed between England, Austria, and Turkey, by which a joint fleet was despatched to the coast of Syria, with instructions to drive the Egyptians out of the country. The squadron, which was substantially composed of English vessels, was commanded by Sir Robert Stopford, with Sir Charles Napier as second in command. The fleet anchored off Beyrout—the marines were landed—arms were put into the hands of the natives, who had been grossly oppressed by the Egyptian invaders, and who now gladly joined in the efforts to expel them from the country; and in a short time the Egyptians were driven out of every position they held in Syria, with the single exception of the fortress of St Jean d'Acre. The defences of this town were amazingly strong—so much so, that Sir Robert Stopford declined at first to attack it, and rejected a plan which Sir Charles Napier had prepared for the purpose. That plan was, however, forwarded to the Foreign Office; and, as it coincided with the prompt and daring turn of Lord Palmerston's own mind, he took the somewhat unusual course of directing the admiral to carry out the views of his second in command. It is due to Sir Robert to say, that when he received these instructions he shewed no unmanly jealousy of the preference given to the advice of an inferior officer; he entered at once and warmly into the scheme, and it was crowned with complete and unexpected success. In the course of the bombardment, a shell lighted on the powder magazine of the citadel and caused its explosion, making a fright-

ful slaughter of nearly two thousand persons; and the consternation produced in the garrison was so great that they surrendered at once; so that the explosion was probably, upon the whole, the means of saving a still greater effusion of blood. With this achievement the war was at an end. Mehemet Ali, beaten at every point, and disappointed of the aid which he confidently reckoned on receiving from France, made peace on the condition of giving up all claim to Syria and retaining in his family the actual sovereignty of Egypt, though it was still nominally lodged in the Sultan. The brilliancy of these feats made Lord Palmerston's name at the time more popular than any other statesman had been for a long period; and the exploits of the navy were not forgotten. The popular enthusiasm was increased by the recollection that Acre, which was now taken by our fleet, had at the beginning of the century foiled the strongest efforts of Napoleon himself to capture, and that it was defended then, as it had now been attacked, by British sailors, with the French opposed to them. The war itself, and still more its speedy and brilliant termination, was the cause of much ill blood. It is well understood that nothing but the peaceful character of Louis Philippe, the then King of the French, prevented the French nation, under the guidance of M. Thiers, from rushing into a war of protection to Mehemet Ali, and of defiance to all the powers of Europe. The effect of it was felt not long afterwards, in the seizure of the Society Islands, and in the unpleasant feeling that arose respecting the ill treatment of Mr Pritchard, our consul at Tahiti.

The whole of these affairs have been so succinctly, so spiritedly, and so characteristically told by Lord Palmerston himself, that we feel we cannot do better than present it to our readers, as it will have the still further effect of giving them some notion of the light and fluent style of address usually adopted by his lordship.

The speech was delivered at Tiverton on the occasion of his election as member of Parliament for that borough in the general election of 1847. A Mr Harney, a Chartist orator, appeared on the hustings to oppose him, and assailed many of his acts as Foreign Minister, which drew from his lordship the defence of his policy, from which we make the following extracts:—

"Mr Harney began with Belgium. He said that I was instrumental in submitting and subjecting the Belgians to the yoke of the representative of France. What is the fact? The Belgian people had been united to Holland in 1815; they had great complaints to make against the way in which they had been governed; their religion had been interfered with; the education of their children had been taken out of their hands; taxes had been imposed which they thought illegal; their native language was forbidden in lawsuits and courts of justice. They rebelled; and the question was, whether they were to be put down by force, or whether they were to be protected and allowed to become an independent nation, to be governed according to their own laws, to their own religion, to their own constitution, and without being subject to any foreign nation. What was the course the Government with with which I was then associated took? We obtained for them all these objects.—(Hear, hear.) The end of the matter was, that after long negotiation, after difficulties which at one time threatened to involve Europe in war, Belgium was acknowledged as an independent country; and I will venture to say, a more prosperous, happy, contented, and patriotic nation than the Belgians have now become does not exist on the face of the earth.—(Hear, and cheers.) They have a king of their own choosing.—(Hear, hear.) I am astonished, then, that their case should be brought forward as a proof of our desire to crush and trample upon the liberty and freedom of a nation.—(Cheers.) . . . . . We

then come to Spain; and it is said that we were there parties to establishing a government more tyrannical than any that had ever before existed in that country. Now, I deny the assertion. The governments that previously existed had the Inquisition. Perhaps some of you do not know what that was. So much the better for you.—(Laughter.) It was a tribunal which inquired into the religious opinions of every man; if they were not exactly of the proper cut which the Inquisition thought expedient, the man was thrown into prison, or in former times he was burnt alive. Before the period to which I refer there was no parliament in Spain. The great bulk of the people said, 'We will have a parliament, and we will have no Inquisition; and we choose to have for our sovereign Donna Isabella, and not this old gentleman, Don Carlos, whom we consider identified with oppression and the Inquisition.' We took part with the people of Spain—with those who wanted constitutional liberty, equal laws, a parliament, justice, no Inquisition—against those who were for having no parliament, no justice, but much Inquisition. We succeeded; and by means of a very trifling assistance, which could not possibly have determined events if the Spanish people had not been on that side, we enabled them to work out their liberties with smaller sacrifices than they must otherwise have submitted to, and with less suffering than they must otherwise have encountered. This is charge the second against me for having overthrown the liberties of foreign nations, and of having established despotism and tyranny. Really those who make that charge seem to be as little read in history as they are in the elementary rudiments of political economy.—(Laughter.) Then we come to Portugal. There was a struggle in Portugal very similar to that which I have mentioned as taking place in Spain. There was a contest between despotic and tyrannical government, on the one hand,

and parliament and popular freedom, on the other. Don Pedro fought for the popular side; Don Miguel, who had usurped the throne and ousted his niece, fought for tyranny and despotic government. What did we do? Did we set up Don Miguel? No; we put him down.—(Cheers.) We threw our influence into the scale of liberty, freedom, and constitutional rights; and by our assistance that cause conquered, and the Portuguese nation became possessed of a parliament, and of all those rights which are essential for securing the liberties of a nation. We next come, I think, to Syria. I do not expect all those who support my opponent to understand anything about this matter. He knows very little about it himself.—(Laughter.) How can you possibly expect his supporters to know more than he does? —(Great laughter.) Well, gentlemen, Mr Harney says we made a great mistake in Syria; he tells us that there was a most excellent worthy old gentleman called Mehemet Ali, who ruled in Egypt, and who had conquered Syria, and that we ought to have left him quietly there. Mr Harney says we fought the battle for the rights of kings by driving Mehemet Ali out of Syria, and restoring that country to the Sultan. Why, this old gentleman, Mehemet Ali, was a subject of the Sultan; he was to the Sultan what the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland is to the Queen of England; but he had a mind to set up for himself, and if he had kept Syria he would have done so. You may say, 'What would it have signified to us if he had set up for himself?' I reply—it was the object of England to keep Turkey out of the hands of other powers, who, if they obtained possession of it, would use it for no advantage of ours; and if Mehemet Ali had set up for himself, he would have so weakened Turkey that it could no longer have remained independent, but must have become the vassal of some foreign power. This was our reason for driving Mehemet Ali back to his house at Alexandria. But

it is said this worthy old gentleman was so much beloved in Syria that his rule formed a perfect paradise compared with the hell-upon-earth which has existed there since he was driven out. Now, how was it we did drive him out of Syria? Merely by giving a few thousand muskets to the people of the country; by sending a few hundred marines on shore to aid them, and saying, 'Go it, boys; if you want to get rid of Mehemet Ali, here we are to back you; if you intend to act, now's your time.'—(A laugh.) They took us at our word; they kicked him out, neck and crop, and his army too; they hailed us as their deliverers; and whatever may be said of some small and trifling quarrels that have since arisen between two different sects in that country, it is now peaceable, contented, and happy; and there is a striking contrast between the present state of things and that which formerly existed there."

We cannot omit mentioning here the exertions Lord Palmerston has made for the suppression of the slave-trade. The maintenance of the squadron off the coast of Africa belonged to his department; and both by the maintenance of that squadron in an efficient state, and by entering into treaties with the native chiefs for the purpose of effecting a voluntary abandonment of the trade on their part, he has never wavered nor ever relaxed his exertions. We have seen many changes on that question, but there have been none on his side. The maintenance of the squadron has been inveighed against as an unprofitable expense; even the old friends of the negro have, some of them, come to the conclusion that a violent suppression of the traffic was neither possible nor desirable; but his lordship, in conjunction with Lord John Russell, has never abandoned, nor even wavered in his views; and by putting the squadron in a more efficient state than for some years it was, as well as by new methods of suppression which were never before thought of, there does appear to be at last

a prospect of the total cessation of that nefarious traffic. When that desirable event shall have been brought about, justice will demand that by far the larger portion of the credit attached to its accomplishment shall be given to Lord Palmerston. The first blow which he struck at the slave-trading practices was one he adopted about 1840, and which was most effectively executed by Captain Denman (the son of the distinguished judge), who was then in command of the African coast. It was then the practice of the Spanish and Portuguese slave-dealers to buy up large consignments of slaves from the African chiefs, confine them in large wooden buildings called barracoons till a slave-ship was ready to start for Brazil or Cuba, which sailing would be regulated very much by the presence or absence of a British man-of-war from the neighbourhood. It was obvious, therefore, that if these barracoons could be destroyed, one great facility for the shipment of slaves, or having them always on hand at their depots to send on board when wanted, would be put an end to. Accordingly, Captain Denman was instructed to make a treaty with the chief of the district to obtain permission to destroy the barracoons, which having obtained, he landed his men, liberated the wretched creatures huddled in these human shambles, and then set the barracoons on fire. The blow was the most effective that had ever been dealt, and the trade on that part of the coast has never recovered from it. The Portuguese persons whose property these barracoons were, had the effrontery some time afterwards to sue Captain Denman in the Court of Queen's Bench for injury done to their property. Captain Denman was defended at the expense of the State, and the decision was, as might have been foreseen from the first, in his favour. Since then, other steps equally effective have been taken,—such as the blockade of the Brazilian coast, as well as the African, in search of slave-traders; the attack on the great

slave-trading king of Ashantee, and the capture of the city of Lagos, which has rooted out a great nest of slave-dealers in that quarter;—the consequence of which measures have been, that the slave trade is now in a languishing condition along the whole coast of Western Africa.

In 1841 Lord Palmerston went out of office with his party, and ceased to have any connexion with the direction of public affairs. He did not, however, cease his interest in them or in the general discussion on politics. Indeed, the close of that session saw him come out in a new character. The leader of the party, Lord John Russell, seeing the hopelessness of making an impression in the then state of the public mind, and being engaged in the more pleasing duty of arranging his marriage with the daughter of the Earl of Minto, left the House of Commons some time before the session terminated, and the duty of watching the ministerial movements devolved upon Lord Palmerston. Now, it happened that that year was one of great political inaction, the ministers being then engaged in the planning of those financial and commercial measures which have since made the Peel administration so famous. But at that time, of course, no intimation was given that such measures were in preparation; all that was known was, that the great state physician (to use Sir Robert Peel's own simile) had been called in, had felt his patient's pulse, had even received his fee, and yet the prescription was delayed. This was fair game for the attack of a hostile critic; and Lord Palmerston conceived the idea of making an attack upon the ministry by a review of their measures, or rather their want of measures, for the session, somewhat in the manner in which Lord Lyndhurst, in the Upper House, used annually to make a slashing onslaught on Whig incapacity, by a review of the failure of those measures which his own party had helped to

strangle. His lordship's speech on this occasion was an exceedingly happy one, conceived in that light and good-humoured tone of irony which makes even the adversary heartily indulge in the laugh which is raised against him. But it must be owned that Sir Robert Peel in his reply shewed himself fully equal to the occasion. He replied in the same tone of good-humoured banter, being perhaps his most successful effort in that style, for in general the right honourable baronet's jokes were rather ponderous. There was no renewal of these annual reviews, for in the following session the income tax and the revisal of the tariff fully exonerated the ministry from the charge of idleness or inefficiency. Lord Palmerston, therefore, went back to his old *rôle*,—that of watching the conduct of foreign affairs, which were now in the hands of Lord Aberdeen. The principal point on which he raised an opposition to his measures was on the question of the Ashburton treaty with the United States, respecting the settlement of the north-eastern boundary of Canada with the State of Maine. That long-litigated question was settled by giving up to the States a strip of territory which had long been considered as British territory, and which had been colonised by British settlers on the faith of its being so. This by no means suited the temperament of Lord Palmerston, who, ever jealous of his country's rights and dignity, brought the treaty containing this cession before the House, and stigmatised it as the "Ashburton Capitulation." He met with but few sympathisers, however. The House was too sensible of the advantages of an amicable feeling with our kinsmen across the Atlantic to quarrel with the settlement; and though Lord Palmerston's speech was listened to with great attention, yet the House thinned the moment he finished, and in a short time it was counted out, so that his motion for a vote of censure was never put from the chair. The dispute with France respecting the treat-

ment of Mr Pritchard, our consul at Tahiti, also came to a crisis in Lord Aberdeen's time, but on this subject there was no serious difference between him and Lord Palmerston; and the affair, though it at one time assumed a very threatening appearance, finally ended in peace. It only remains to be noticed, that on the great question of domestic policy for which this administration will be most remembered in history—the repeal of the Corn Laws—Lord Palmerston publicly announced in 1845 his conversion to the principle of absolute repeal, having before that time been in favour of a fixed duty levied for the purposes of revenue. When Sir Robert Peel came to the same determination, before the close of the year, it was determined by his cabinet that the work ought to be left to the Liberal party rather than to them, and they accordingly resigned office. The Queen sent for Lord John Russell, and intrusted him with the task of forming an administration, and the noble lord naturally looked for the support of his old colleagues; but he met with an unexpected difficulty in the refusal of Earl Grey to serve in the cabinet if Lord Palmerston were intrusted with the direction of foreign affairs, as the son of the great Whig minister evidently disapproved of the course which his old colleague in the cabinet had formerly pursued. Lord Palmerston, on the other hand, expressed his willingness to retire from office altogether, and handsomely promised to support the new government as heartily out of office as if he were in; but he made the distinct stipulation, that if he were not allowed to take the lead in the Foreign Office, he would accept of no other place in the cabinet. This quarrel between two of the main supporters of his policy effectually disconcerted the measures of the Whig leader; and the glory of being the author of Corn Law repeal was thus snatched from him, and entwined imperishably around the brows of the Conservative leader. No sooner was that measure

passed, however, than Sir Robert fell, through the internal dissensions in the party he had been at such pains for so many years to reconstruct; and a reconciliation having been in the interval patched up between Lords Grey and Palmerston—which, however, we have reason to believe was never very cordial—Lord Palmerston came again into office as Minister for Foreign Affairs in the summer of 1846.

He had scarcely received the seals of the Foreign Office when he was once more involved in the perplexities and entanglements of foreign politics. At that time all Europe was heaving with the premonitory symptoms of that revolution which soon afterwards burst out. The war of opinion was then smouldering which was soon afterwards to burst into a flame. The first intimation of the coming storm occurred in Switzerland; and there, as we believe may be affirmed of everywhere else, at the bottom of the political agitations was religion. The Catholic cantons of the Swiss Confederation had invited the Jesuits among them; and that astute party, according to their wont, had hardly got settled in the Catholic cantons when they began to disturb the tranquillity of their Protestant neighbours. This went on for some time, the animosities and heart-burnings continually increasing, till the majority of the cantons ordered the Jesuits to leave Switzerland altogether. But the Catholic states, though a minority of the whole, formed a union among themselves to resist this decree of the majority by force of arms, and proceeded to raise troops for the purpose of resistance. Matters assumed a serious aspect. The other powers of Europe began to take an interest in the quarrel, and most of them with an evident leaning to the Catholic cantons. The cry of the persecuted Jesuits resounded through Roman Catholic Europe. At this time, Lord Palmerston, with the most consummate tact and ability, conducted both this country

and Switzerland itself to an honourable solution of the difficulty. It was obviously for the advantage of Switzerland that, whichever way the question was settled, it should be settled by her own powers alone, and without external interference; and few rational Protestants could doubt that the presence of the busy, intermeddling Jesuits boded no good to the tranquillity of any state. Nevertheless, Austria and even Prussia were marching troops to the frontier with an evident leaning to the Catholic minority, and even France had a strong party whose sympathies were with the same cause. Lord Palmerston alone stood by the Protestant cantons, and his conduct evinced that same happy union of skill, promptitude, and decision, which had stood him in such stead on the Syrian question. He addressed a note to the different powers of Europe protesting against any one of them interfering without the consent of the whole; and accordingly propose, a meeting of the representatives for the purpose of settling the terms of a joint intervention, if such should be found necessary. At the same time he sent instructions to our minister in Switzerland urging the Government of the Confederation to take active steps to repress the rebellious union by force of arms before such an intervention could take effect. It turned out as he wished. The despotic powers of Europe were awed from interfering singly; and long before the meeting was held to settle the terms of joint intervention, the troops of the Catholic cantons had been scattered in a single engagement with the State army; the Jesuits had been expelled and the country restored to tranquillity. The ministers of the different countries accordingly never met; for, when the time came, there was nothing to interfere about.

Another matter in which Lord Palmerston took a deep interest was the marriage of the Duke de Montpensier, son of Louis Philippe, to the Spanish princess,

the sister of Queen Isabella. We have already explained the old Treaty of Utrecht in the reign of Queen Anne, by which it was attempted to prevent the French and Spanish crowns from ever becoming united on one head. The main provision, that which forbade a female to assume the Spanish crown, had been given up by the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance which seated Isabella on the throne; but it was attempted to compensate for this concession by providing that no alliance should take place between the royal families of the two countries. To this, however, Louis Philippe would not consent; he gave up the claim of his family to the hand of the queen herself; and he agreed that her sister should not marry his son till children were born to the queen; but no sooner had he thus lulled asleep the suspicions of Lord Aberdeen, who was then in power, and obtained the marriage of the Spanish queen with her cousin, than he hurried forward the marriage of the princess with his son, thus securing to himself one more of those alliances which, as he fondly hoped, would contribute to the stability of his throne. This clandestine match, for it was no other, carried out in violation of his own promises and declarations, gave rise to an angry correspondence between the French and English Cabinets, in which Lord Palmerston took high ground; and the controversy was not settled when the French Revolution displaced the old monarch from his seat of power, and terminated the quarrel by the effectual removal of its cause. That revolution led, as is well known, to numerous others in various parts of Europe, in all of which Lord Palmerston took an active part. The most remarkable, perhaps, was his conduct in the affairs of the island of Sicily; and his interference in the relations of that island with the kingdom of Naples was justified on the ground of the old alliance between England and the authorities there. During the war with Napoleon, when the Italian Penin-

sula was overrun with the French troops, the island of Sicily alone raised the standard of resistance, and, with the aid of the British troops under Lord William Bentinck, drove the French out of the island. In return for the gallant efforts these islanders made against the common enemy, a pledge, though perhaps not formally binding, was made by the British Government, that when the peace came, the government they had raised for the management of their own affairs should be respected, and that to whatever government they might hereafter be annexed, their liberal constitution should be preserved. Unhappily these promises were not kept. In the arrangement of the affairs of Europe at the Congress of Vienna, Sicily was replaced again in its ancient connexion with the despotic government of Naples, and as no stipulation was made for the continuance of its constitution, that form of government was very speedily extinguished. Still the memory of their former freedom lingered on in the minds of the Sicilians, and at the first news of the European revolution they too took up arms, and declared themselves independent of the Neapolitan Government. Mindful of the former promises, they solicited the aid of the British nation. That aid Lord Palmerston was by no means indisposed to afford them. He gave them what moral countenance he could, allowed them to obtain arms and ammunition from this country, and even went so far as to promise that, if they could erect themselves into a monarchy, and confer the crown upon the brother of the present King of Sardinia, he, on the part of this country, would recognise their independence. This bold policy failed, and through two causes:—in the first place, the Sicilians were infected with the general feeling of the revolutionists at that period, whose prepossessions were all in favour of republicanism rather than monarchy; and the second, and perhaps more important cause, was that

the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston was not only hated by the Conservative party at home, but it was also regarded with suspicion and mistrust by a large body of the extreme Liberal party, who, intent only on demanding parliamentary and financial reform, had little sympathy to spare for other nations that were struggling to free themselves from a foreign yoke. It was, therefore, with deep reluctance that Lord Palmerston, thwarted both by the Sicilian patriots and by the English Radicals, felt himself compelled to abandon the insurgents to the consequences of their own acts, and the island soon fell back into its old state of dependence under the despotism of Naples. The episode of his quarrel with the Spanish Government, which ended in the two countries remaining for a time without any diplomatic relations, need only be alluded to here, as shewing the anxiety with which he took every opportunity to inculcate a liberal policy upon the countries he had himself so great a share in reclaiming. For years there had been a general retrograde tendency on the part of the Spanish Government; the representative system had been discouraged, and the men who had shed their best blood for the establishment of the existing dynasty on the throne were discountenanced, banished, and imprisoned. When, therefore, other nations were heaving with the first throes of convulsions, Lord Palmerston, mindful of the turbulent character of the Spanish population, addressed a note to Sir Henry Bulwer, our minister at Madrid, desiring him to remonstrate with the Spanish ministers, that by the course they were pursuing they were endangering the stability of the throne and inciting the people to tumultuous outbreaks. This faithful advice was received in high dudgeon by the Spanish Government, who, with the marvellous and obstinate pride of that people, felt it an insult to be lectured by the "barbarian islanders." A coolness ensued, and soon afterwards Sir Henry Bulwer

was ordered to leave the country, on the pretext that the people were so enraged against him for harbouring liberal exiles that they could not guarantee his safety. By way of retaliation, the Spanish minister was sent out of England, and the two countries remained without the usual means of diplomatic intercourse till the near approach of the birth of a princess of Spain induced that government to take steps for a reconciliation, and the usual courtesies of nations were renewed between them.

But it was the question of Greece which excited most interest, and, while it most imperilled the noble lord's policy, afforded that policy its noblest triumph in the confirmation of the British Senate, and furnished the finest opportunity for the display of those wonderful powers of eloquence with which his lordship is endowed. The quarrel with that petty state, most of our readers will remember, arose out of some alleged outrages committed by the Greek population at various periods on British subjects,—one of them a Scotchman of the name of Finlay, another a Jew, born in the Ionian Islands, of the name of Pacifico. There were also questions regarding the treatment of some Ionian sailors, but the two former cases were most dwelt upon. These questions had been pending for some years. Lord Aberdeen had attempted to settle them when he was in office, but without success; for, though the injured persons had given in a schedule of their losses, which in the case of Don Pacifico was obviously exaggerated, yet the Greek Government refused to go into the matter at all, and would not examine the bills or point out any exaggerations; and, therefore, the British Government had no alternative but to demand the full amount, at the same time taking special care to explain, that they did not insist upon reparation to the extent demanded by the injured individuals, and that, if the Greek Government would but admit the principle,

the details would be of comparatively easy adjustment. The matter thus stood over, and might have remained unsettled till now, had not events arisen in another quarter to precipitate it. The Ionian Islands, which had been in possession of this country since the pacification of Europe, and even before that period, had lately been favoured with a constitutional form of government and with representative institutions. Among the first uses to which a portion of the Ionians put this boon of freedom was the incitement of an agitation intended to free the islands from dependence upon Great Britain, and to transfer them to the kingdom of Greece. Speeches in favour of throwing off their allegiance to the British Crown were made openly in the Greek assemblies; and in a short time an insurrection broke out, which Sir Henry Ward, the governor, crushed with promptitude and decision. On searching into the causes of these outbreaks, it was found that the agitation had to a great extent been an extraneous one—that Greek agents had been at work throughout the islands, and that Russia herself had been at the bottom of the movement. It was true that no legal evidence could be obtained that such was the fact—nothing on which to found a demand for an explanation or an apology; but the indications were not the less cogent that the legal proofs did not exist. Lord Palmerston therefore determined to reach them in another way; and as the quarrel respecting Don Pacifico still remained unsettled, he preferred a claim for immediate reparation. The Greeks had recourse to their old system of delays and evasions; but a powerful fleet off the harbour at Athens seized as many Greek merchant vessels, on their attempting to enter the harbour, as would have sufficed to meet double the claim. The Greek Government became alarmed at these vigorous proceedings, and began at last to comprehend the nature of their situation. Meanwhile the other powers of Europe, who had all an

interest in the independence of Greece, looked on uneasily and suspiciously, but as the British Government had taken no step which was not in accordance with the laws of nations, there was no ground for interference. The French Government, however, proffered their good offices in the way of mediation, and Lord Palmerston accepted them so far as the settlement of the amount of reparation due was concerned; but he expressly guarded himself against submitting to the French agent who was to be sent out to Athens the question of the original justice of the claims. No sooner, however, had the Frenchman arrived at Athens than he began to do that which Lord Palmerston had stipulated he should not have power to do: he began to inquire into the fact whether certain parties had really sustained any injury at all. The Greeks, deriving new courage from his presence, refused at first to come to any terms. On this the English admiral, acting on Lord Palmerston's instructions, broke off the negotiations, resumed his attack on the Greek shipping, and brought the Government to an unconditional submission. Meantime the French minister returned home. The French Government, then the Republic, fancying that their agent had been insulted, withdrew their ambassador, and affairs began to wear a very gloomy aspect indeed. It was obviated, however, in consequence of the general good understanding between the two countries. The ambassador returned in a few days, and a treaty was agreed to, according to which, while France admitted all the claims that England had made to have a foundation in justice, she was herself to assess the amount of reparation that was due in each case.

Such were the facts out of which the great debates that distinguished the session of 1850 arose—debates that called forth brilliant displays of eloquence on both sides, though by general consent Lord Palmerston

shone peerless—and which would have been memorable, if for no other circumstance, from the fact that this question was the last on which Sir Robert Peel addressed the House of Commons. The question was first taken up in the House of Lords, where the Earl of Derby introduced a motion of censure on the foreign policy of the Government, in a speech characterised by much ability, but more by stinging satire. The only defender of Lord Palmerston was the Marquis of Lansdowne, who opened his remarks by saying, that in the House of Commons, where his noble friend had a seat, none of his opponents durst trust himself with bringing forward such a motion. Earl Grey, who was usually forward enough to speak on the policy of the Government, was silent on this occasion, and it was generally understood, from personal disapprobation of the policy of his colleague. On the other hand, the whole force of the opposition, Protectionists and Peelites, voted in favour of the censure, and the Government was in consequence put in a minority. In curious coincidence, however, with what Lord Lansdowne had said, none of the Protectionists ventured to follow up their victory by proposing a similar motion in the House of Commons, and it was left for an admirer of Lord Palmerston's policy, Mr Roebuck, to introduce the question. He asked Lord John Russell, the leader of the House, what the Government intended to do in consequence of the adverse vote of the peers. Lord John Russell replied that they meant to do nothing—that the vote of the House of Lords would have no effect upon the Government one way or the other; and then bursting out into a tribute to his friend, which was eloquent in its affectionate tone of admiration, he reminded the House of the position his noble friend occupied; that he was not the minister of Austria or of Russia, but that he was the minister of England. When the cheers that spontaneously greeted this declaration had subsided,

Mr Roebuck said he was not quite satisfied with the constitutional ground of the doctrine which the noble lord had laid down, and that, therefore, he would give the House of Commons an opportunity of declaring whether they agreed with or dissented from the views of the Lords, for he would move a vote of approbation of the noble lord's policy. Accordingly, the debate began in the month of July, and lasted for four nights. It seemed at one time as if the Government and the noble lord were to be overborne by adverse numbers. All the Protectionists, the Peelites with only one or two exceptions, and all that party which is generally known as the Manchester school, opposed them; yet, in the division, which was taken late on the fourth night of the debate, a majority of forty-six in favour of Mr Roebuck's motion asserted the popularity of the noble lord, and the concurrence of the House in the policy which he had pursued. There can be no doubt that the main contributor to this triumph was the noble lord himself. His speech, which continued without intermission for five hours, on the second night of the debate, exhausted the whole question of his policy since the time he took office till that moment. During the whole time the attention of a crowded house was maintained unflagging; the historical details of his policy, which in other hands would have been a dry narrative of facts, served with him as the vehicle, at times, of lofty sentiment, of brilliant repartee, and of broad and irresistible humour. It was universally admitted to be one of the greatest triumphs of parliamentary eloquence that this generation has witnessed. Its length of course forbids us giving any specimen of it that would do justice to its extraordinary power. The debate continued for two nights afterwards, but it was generally felt that the interest closed with the noble lord's own speech, and his case was so complete that no one could imagine the House would agree to

the censure. The result was, as we have said, a vote in his favour by a majority of forty-six.

The popularity of Lord Palmerston was at this time as high, probably, as that of any minister who has ever ruled in this country. While the debate was proceeding, crowds of persons were in the habit of attending at the doors of the House of Commons to cheer the noble lord as he passed into the House; and after the victory a splendid dinner was given in his honour in the Reform Club. It was felt on all hands that he was the most popular man in the ministry, that he was in fact its main prop and support, and that their continued existence in office depended very much on his remaining Foreign Minister. Such being the popular feeling, the general wonder and surprise can hardly yet have passed from the public mind which were awakened towards the end of December 1851, by the announcement that Lord Palmerston was no longer Foreign Minister and had left the Cabinet. Various were the surmises as to what had occasioned this remarkable change, and occurring, as it did, about the time that Louis Napoleon had assumed the dictatorship of France, and dissolved and all but imprisoned the whole Chamber of Representatives, it was generally understood that that event had something to do with Lord Palmerston's retirement. The impression was a correct one, though the explanations were not given till the Parliament met in the following year. Then Lord John Russell gave an explanation which, as it was admitted to be substantially correct by Lord Palmerston himself, may be taken to be accurate; and the substance of which was, that, whereas the Queen had stipulated that no foreign despatches should be sent off till she had perused them, and that no step in our foreign relations should be taken till it had been submitted to the whole Cabinet as well as to the Queen; Lord Palmerston had infringed upon this latter part of his instructions; because when the

French ambassador waited upon him with the news that his master, Louis Napoleon, had assumed to himself the sole government, Lord Palmerston had of his own motion expressed his approbation of the step. In itself it was a small offence, and would not probably have been so severely visited if in other respects there had been a good understanding between his lordship and the court. To the public at large the veniality of the technical offence could hardly have seemed a sufficient reason for getting rid so unceremoniously of an old and trusted servant; but his expressed approbation of Louis Napoleon's conduct was so opposed to the national feeling at that time and since, and seemed to be so irreconcilable with the noble lord's admiration for constitutional liberty, that the regret for his loss was considerably qualified. It was felt, however, that Lord John Russell had, in getting rid of him, voluntarily parted with the mainstay of his Cabinet, and that his own fall could not be distant. Probably few people anticipated how near that fall was at the time they so expressed themselves. Within a month from the meeting of Parliament, the ministry brought forward a measure for the revival of the old militia force, which had not been called into existence for more than twenty years. It is needless to go into the details of the measure: it is sufficient to say that it did not meet with the approbation of Lord Palmerston, who opposed the plan, and divided the House upon the question. The motion was fatal to the Government, who thus fell by the man whom they had driven from among them. Lord Derby's Government came into power, and Lord Palmerston was offered the very place Lord John had ejected him from. He refused, however, to join the ministry, chiefly on the ground of the equivocal position they maintained with regard to free trade, of which his lordship had always been a devoted adherent, but he lent them a support that was as valuable as if he

had taken his seat in the midst of them. Thus he zealously supported their militia bill, though differing in its details from the plan he proposed; and the last triumph they achieved as a Government they owed entirely to him. After the general election of 1852, the free traders determined to put on record a vote of the House expressive of their determination to uphold free trade. After some hesitation, the Government came to the conclusion that they would offer no opposition to that step, as they had themselves abandoned all hope of ever restoring protection; but the terms in which the motion should be couched was the subject of anxious deliberation. Sir James Graham drew up one form of motion, which obtained the assent of Lord John Russell, Mr Gladstone, and other leading men; Lord Palmerston was also consulted upon the subject, but he took a copy of it without pledging himself to support it. Mr Villiers, Mr Cobden, and others, objected to that motion, and drew up another, which not only pledged the House to uphold free trade for the future, but declared that the system was "wise, just, and beneficial;" thereby, as it was understood, implying a reproach on those who had hitherto opposed it. Sir James Graham naturally preferred his own, and the whole Peelite party agreed with him, but Lord John Russell siding with Mr Villiers, for the sake of unanimity the Peelites reluctantly yielded, and Sir James Graham's motion was, as it was supposed, finally abandoned. The Government not relishing the taunt implied in Mr Villiers' motion, proposed an amendment of their own, saying much the same thing, though in different words; and the debate began. Towards the close of the first night's debate, Lord Palmerston rose, and in a speech in which, while he urged the necessity of making free trade safe by securing as great unanimity as possible, the tendency was evidently to favour the existing administration, he, to the surprise of every body, and the chagrin of those

who were in the secret, proposed Sir James Graham's abandoned motion as his own, warning the House, however, that it was a sort of plagiarism. This stroke of policy changed the whole aspect of affairs; the Peelites declared their intention of supporting this proposition now that it was fairly before the House; Government gave up their motion in its favour; and Mr Villiers was advised by Lord John Russell and others to withdraw his also, and allow the House to be unanimous. He persevered, however, and though Lord John Russell and his friends voted with him, he was beaten, as every body had foreseen; and to Lord Palmerston was due the questionable merit of having spared the Government. Then came the budget, in which it was beyond the power of Lord Palmerston, or any one else, to save them—they were beaten, and retired, and Lord Aberdeen came into power. Perhaps no higher tribute was ever paid to Lord Palmerston's talents than in the circumstance that he—a man without a party, without a follower, it may be said—should yet be invited by his old antagonist and rival, and by the statesman who had so lately affronted him by driving him from the Cabinet, to resume his seat at her Majesty's council-board in the capacity of one of the leading ministers of the crown. True, he was not reinstated in his old department of the Foreign Office; that could hardly have been expected; but we believe we are correct in stating, that he had almost his choice of any other of the high offices of state, and he finally chose the Home Office, where he is likely, from his *bonhommie*, his cheerfulness and assiduity in office, to be even more popular than he was in the foreign department.

# LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

Lord John Russell, the leader of the House of Commons, and probably the most influential member of the present Cabinet, is the third son of the late Duke of Bedford, and was born August 18, 1792, in Hertford Street, May Fair.

His lordship may be said to have been born a politician. The family, of which he is one of the most illustrious ornaments, has been mixed up with the constitutional history of England in all its great crises, from the Reformation downwards. The rise of the house of Russell dates from the reign of Henry VII., when a German prince, on his way to London, was wrecked off the coast of Dorsetshire, where William Russell, a country gentleman, of moderate means, was living in privacy and retirement. Russell was called upon to entertain the illustrious stranger, and to accompany him to the court of Henry, where the sovereign was so attracted by the gracefulness of his manners and conversation that he retained the country squire among the number of his personal attendants, and charged himself with the advance of his fortunes. The favour thus gained on the part of the father was not lost on the accession of the son; and on the sequestration of the monastery and abbey lands, Russell, as one of the favourites of the monarch, gained large accessions from the property thus secularised. Woburn Abbey, and several other possessions both in Bedfordshire and Devonshire, to this day attest the

munificence of the monarch, and the esteem in which the ancestor of the house of Bedford was held.

From that time downwards the house of Bedford is always to be found in connexion with the cause of the people. In the struggle with Charles I. the Earl of Bedford was one of the great parliamentary leaders; after the Restoration the great opponent of the reactionary party was William, Lord Russell, whose execution in the latter part of the reign of Charles II., along with that of Algernon Sidney, with whom his name is now inseparably joined, did more to pave the way for the Revolution of 1688 than any other event whatever. In the critical days of Queen Anne, when the nation oscillated, as it were, between the house of Hanover and the recall of the Stuarts, the chiefs of the house of Bedford stood firm for the Protestant succession; and throughout the reigns of the Georges that house was always reckoned as the leading rallying point of all who maintained Whig principles. That post of honour its members carried not more by their great wealth and high station than by the general reputation they acquired for incorruptible integrity; but it is remarkable, that of the many Russells who have engaged in public affairs, honesty and integrity, rather than any shining abilities, have been the chief characteristics—a sincere love of country, and a desire to serve her, rather than any distinguished qualities that could be brought to that service.

It may be imagined, then, that the early promise of future eminence which was given by the subject of the present sketch would be hailed with delight by his family, and that great expectations would be formed of his future career. His first education was acquired at a public school at Sunbury; but instead of being sent to either of the great universities of England, he was despatched to Edinburgh, to be trained under the tuition and care of Professor Dugald Stewart. The

reasons for this departure from ordinary precedent in the education of English youths of rank and talent are sufficiently obvious. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were the hotbeds of Toryism; Edinburgh, on the other hand, was distinguished at that time, not only for such a brilliant concentration of genius in its University as the world had rarely seen before, but what would still more recommend it to a Whig nobleman, the leading men in that intellectual society were ardent Whig partisans, and therefore well qualified to train the mind, and to inculcate proper political principles in the hopeful scion of the Whig house. The decision was a fortunate one. In the house of Professor Stewart he had access to the society of men who were at the time filling the scientific world of Europe with their fame, and as happens not unnaturally, politics are frequently pursued with an ardour in inverse proportion to the distance of the politicians from the scene of action, he heard the great questions of the day discussed with more keenness, and with a stronger partisan feeling, than he would probably have done had he remained an inmate in his father's house. Thus, all these incidents would concur with his own social rank and the hereditary principles of his family to give a political bias to the mind of the young student; and circumstances favoured even his attainment of proficiency in the forms and rules of debate. There was then, as there is still, a society attended by the young men connected with the Edinburgh University named the Speculative Society, whose object is to afford the students an opportunity of discussing the popular topics of the day, whether connected with politics or science. In this miniature senate were trained many of the leading spirits of the past and passing generation; here Brougham, and Horner, and Jeffrey, exercised their forensic powers, preparatory to trying them in the wider sphere of public life; and here also Lord John Russell first essayed those powers of debate

which have so often since been wielded with effect on the floor of the House of Commons. Many gentlemen who were then his contemporaries have often since borne testimony to the talent which was displayed by the young debater—to the readiness with which he seized on the weak points of an adversary, or the playful humour with which he would sometimes banter an opponent on some untenable point he had taken up. There can be no question that his lordship found, as many other able men have confessed they found, these intellectual gymnastics an excellent preparative for the real duties of active public life.

On leaving Edinburgh his lordship proceeded, according to a time-hallowed custom, on a continental tour. As it happened, however, that at this period the continent was all but closed to English travellers by the war with France, and Englishmen could travel no farther than the good swords of their countrymen had opened for them a passage, Lord John naturally went to Spain. It was at the time when Wellington was beginning to lay the foundations of those marvellous principles of military strategy which, combined with the indomitable courage of his troops, eventually drove the French out of Spain. Lord John arrived at Lisbon in 1809, just at the time when the British army had taken post in the memorable lines of Torres Vedras; and young as he was, the admirable dispositions made by the renowned commander, and the complete manner in which the best of the French generals were foiled by them, made a lasting impression on his mind, and tended to produce that strong impression of the exalted genius of the Duke of Wellington which all subsequent collisions in political affairs failed to remove. His travels in Spain had this farther effect upon his lordship: it directed his attention to Spanish history and Spanish manners and scenery, and the result was a drama founded on the tragic history of Don Carlos, son of

Philip II. of Spain, which, though published in 1822, there can be no doubt was conceived at a much earlier period. The drama in question is, upon the whole, a creditable specimen of his lordship's abilities; it has been mercilessly ridiculed by his political opponents; but though it does not deserve all their censures, still it is manifest that his lordship was not intended by nature for a poet.

Having referred to one of his lordship's literary productions, we may as well mention here the other works which he has given to the world. After the failure of Don Carlos he did not again appear in a poetical capacity; but, so early as 1815, he published a life of his ancestor, William, Lord Russell; in 1821, a History of the British Constitution; in the following year, his tragedy already referred to; and in 1824, a work on the Affairs of Europe since the Peace of Utrecht. In all these publications we find history made the vehicle for expounding and enforcing the constitutional maxims of government according to the Whig school of politics—the style, much of the nature of his own speeches, always pleasing, and sometimes rising to eloquence. More recently his lordship published an interesting collection of letters found in the archives of his family, which throw considerable light on the secret history of the early part of the reign of George III.; and last year, he published the first instalment, in two volumes, of the Life, Letters, and Diary of Moore the poet, according to a promise made to Moore several years ago, that if he survived him he would undertake the editorship of his posthumous works. It is also to be noticed, that his lordship is at present, amidst his other multifarious engagements, snatching time to complete a memoir of the great Whig leader, Charles James Fox, a work begun but left unfinished by the late Lord Holland.

We resume the thread of the narrative. In 1813

his lordship revisited England; and in July of that year, while he still wanted a month of his majority, he was returned, by the influence of his family, for the then nomination borough of Tavistock. He very early began to take part in the proceedings of the House. His first recorded speech was made the year after he took his seat; and it is interesting now, when we have so large a portion of his career before us, and know how firm a friend he has ever been to the cause of the independence of nations, to find that that first speech was against the treaty by which Russia, Sweden, and Great Britain were leagued together to wrest Norway from its old connexion with Denmark, and to hand it over to Sweden as the price by which the new sovereign of that country, Bernadotte, was to be bribed to desert the cause of his old master, Napoleon, and to exert himself, along with the allies, for the expulsion of the French emperor from the list of the crowned heads of Europe. On the same ground—the right of a people to choose their own governors—he opposed the fresh war entered into with Napoleon when that wonderful man escaped from Elba in 1815, though, of course, in all these remonstrances, his voice was little attended to, the people at large being as determinedly bent on the destruction of the power of Bonaparte as any of their rulers could have been. The Whigs were, therefore, left in a small minority; and it might have seemed to an observer of that day, that their exclusion from office and from power was destined to be perpetual.

It is well known that the establishment of peace in 1815 did not bring with it all the advantages to this country which were expected. The almost superhuman exertions which this country had made in waging war with France—not only in continuing the war single-handed when all the rest of Europe lay at the feet of the conqueror, but also subsidising foreign powers with money and arms to induce them to fight their

own battles—had been productive of such a load of debt, and required such an immense amount of taxation, that the country staggered under the load. Besides, as the exciting interest in foreign affairs wore off, the people found leisure to attend to their own domestic concerns; and the abuses of the constitution, produced in most cases by the alterations of time and circumstances, rendering institutions mischievous now which in former times were monuments of wisdom and sagacity, struck every eye, and rendered the desire for reform strong and general, especially among the middle and lower classes. But the ministers did not enter into the altered spirit of the times. In the restless and uneasy feeling that was abroad, they saw nothing but disaffection to the constitution in Church and State, and they became more severe in their measures in proportion as the people complained of their severity. At last, in 1817, the discontent of the people had risen to such a height, that Lord Castlereagh, who then led the House of Commons, proposed a bill for the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act. The motion was strenuously resisted by the Whigs, and by none more than by Lord John Russell. A short extract from his speech on that occasion may serve to shew the spirited manner in which he has always been accustomed to defend the constitutional liberties of the people, as well as the pithy, terse, and almost epigrammatic diction in which, when it pleases him, he can clothe his ideas. Speaking of the original enactment of the *Habeas Corpus* act in the reign of Charles II., he says:—

"Upon looking back to history, the first precedent which strikes us is the precedent of the enactment of this law. The year before this law passed, a plot was discovered, which, though it has since been mentioned only as an instance of credulity, wore at the time a most alarming appearance. Not less than two hundred persons, many of them of the first rank, were accused

of conspiring the death of the king. The heir-presumptive to the throne was supposed to be implicated in the conspiracy, and foreign powers were ready with money and troops to assist in the subversion of our constitution in Church and State. Yet at this time did the Lords and Commons present for the royal assent this very bill of *Habeas Corpus*, which for less dangers you are about to suspend. We talk much—I think, a great deal too much—of the wisdom of our ancestors. I wish we would imitate the courage of our ancestors. They were not ready to lay their liberties at the foot of the crown upon every vain or imaginary alarm."

Bold and high language this for a youth of five-and-twenty. One other passage deserves notice for the allusion contained in it to the question of reform of Parliament, which, of course, lay at the bottom of all the discontents that the ministers thus proposed to smother by withdrawing one of the safeguards of the constitution.

"I will only say one word more as to the cry for reform, of which so much use has been made; I would make another use of this cry. The House must soon discuss the whole question. It is not difficult to foresee that the majority will decide in favour of leaving the constitution untouched. Anxious as I am for reform, I am still more anxious that the House should preserve the respect of the people. If they refuse all innovation upon ancient laws and institutions, it is not to be denied that they will stand upon strong ground. I beseech them, then, not to cut this ground from under their feet—not to let the reformers say, 'When we ask for redress, you refuse all innovation; when the crown asks for protection, you sanction a new code. For us you are not willing to go an inch—for ministers you go a mile. When we ask for our rights, you ought not to touch the little finger of the constitution—but when those in authority demand more power, you plunge your knife into its heart.'"

These noble sentiments had, as may be supposed, little effect upon the members of a House devoted to the existing ministers; and Lord John had the mortification of seeing all his warnings unheeded, and the ministers enabled at their pleasure to trample upon what had long been regarded as one with the constitution itself. At that time, too, he was suffering from ill health, and he retired from the House of Commons. His own delicate health, and the gloomy aspect of public affairs, went far to dishearten him altogether from taking any farther interest in politics, and he began to resolve in his own mind, and to consult with several of his friends, on the propriety of withdrawing from Parliament altogether, and devoting himself to the calm and tranquil pursuits of a retired and literary life. Among others to whom he mentioned this half-formed intention was Moore, the poet; and it was to combat this resolution that the poet sent him soon afterwards the following spirit-stirring remonstrance:—

## REMONSTRANCE,

*After a conversation with Lord John Russell, in which he had intimated some idea of giving up all political pursuits.*

What! *thou*, with thy genius, thy youth, and thy name—
Thou, born of a Russell—whose instinct to run
The accustom'd career of thy sires, is the same
As the eaglet's, to soar with his eyes on the sun!

Whose nobility comes to thee stamp'd with the seal,
Far, far more ennobling than monarch e'er set,
With the blood of thy race offer'd up for the weal
Of a nation that swears by that martyrdom yet!

Shalt *thou* be faint-hearted and turn from the strife—
From the mighty arena, where all that is grand
And devoted and pure and adorning in life—
'Tis for high-thoughted spirits like thine to command!

Oh, no; never dream it—while good men despair
  Between tyrants and traitors, and timid men bow,
Never think for an instant thy country can spare
  Such a light from her dark'ning horizon as thou.

With a spirit as meek as the gentlest of those
  Who in life's sunny valley lie shelter'd and warm;
Yet bold and heroic as ever yet rose
  To the top cliffs of fortune, and breasted her storm;

With an ardour for liberty, fresh as in youth,
  It first kindles the bard and gives life to his lyre;
Yet mellow'd ev'n now, by that mildness of truth
  Which tempers, yet chills not, the patriot fire;

With an eloquence, not like those rills from a height,
  Which sparkle, and foam, and in vapour are o'er;
But a current that works out its way into light
  Through the filtering recesses of thought and of lore.

Thus gifted, thou never canst sleep in the shade;
  If the stirrings of genius, the music of fame,
And the charms of thy cause, have not power to persuade,
  Yet think how to Freedom thou'rt pledged by thy Name.

Like the boughs of that laurel, by Delphi's decree
  Set apart for the Fane and its service divine,
So the branches that spring from the old Russell tree
  Are by Liberty claim'd for the use of her shrine.

In deference to this and other remonstrances, more prosaic but equally earnest, his lordship abandoned his purpose, which, indeed, it is doubtful if he would have kept, under the many stirring incidents that have since emerged; and his health having been restored, he was again returned to Parliament for Tavistock, at the general election of 1818.

From that time forward we find that Lord John Russell, while not inattentive to other questions as they came before him, began to devote his attention to the great question of parliamentary reform, with which his name has since become inseparably connected. In

1819 he made his first motion in favour of a reform in the representation; and continued, with few exceptions, to bring it annually before the notice of the House down to the period when, as a minister of the Crown, he was enabled to speak potentially, and to carry his views into effect. Thus the question came to be considered as his own, just, as in later times, we have seen the question of the repeal of the Corn Laws given to Mr Charles Villiers; and no man thought of moving a resolution upon the subject without first taking counsel with him. It may be curious, now that we have one reform bill from Lord John and are on the eve of having another, to compare them both with the earliest scheme, which he submitted to the House of Commons in 1819. He concluded a long and eloquent speech on the subject with proposing four resolutions. The first went to pledge the House, that boroughs proved to be generally corrupt should be disfranchised, such electors as had not been found guilty of bribery to be compensated by the right of voting for the county. The second was, that the franchise of these towns should be transferred to great towns with a population of not less than fifteen thousand souls, and to some of the larger counties. The third was, that further provision should be made for preventing bribery at elections. The fourth and last was rather matter of detail than of principle—it was, that Grampound, which had been proved to be notoriously corrupt, should be disfranchised. The ministers opposed all the resolutions; but we may mention here, that two years afterwards Grampound was disfranchised; but the two seats thus rendered vacant, instead of being given to Leeds, as Lord John Russell proposed, were transferred to Yorkshire, which from that time down to the Reform Bill continued to send four members to Parliament.

Among the other questions to which Lord John Russell lent the aid of his talents, in addition to the ques-

tion of parliamentary reform, on which, as already mentioned, he was in the habit of making an annual motion, were the defence of Queen Caroline, the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, and the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. It was, probably, the first of these questions that shook the fame of the Tory ministry in the House and the country. Whatever might have been the faults of the queen, it is even now felt that the treatment she experienced at the hands of her husband was ample justification for all. But at that time a fiercer spirit had taken possession of the people—her name and cause were identified with all that was innocent and interesting—her accusers were considered as monsters of oppression and cruelty. Probably the nation has never been since, and had not for a long time before, been nearer the verge of rebellion than on that memorable occasion. The bill of pains and penalties against her, though to the disgrace of the English peerage it passed the House of Lords, never made its appearance in the House of Commons; it was prudently withdrawn; and the people had the satisfaction of finding, that in defending the cause of a deeply injured woman they had won the first of what has since proved to be a long series of popular victories. The death of the prime minister, the Earl of Liverpool, in the beginning of 1827, and the subsequent accession of Mr Canning to the premiership, still farther heightened the hopes of the people, for it caused a division among the Tory party, and the more liberal of that body were now in office. Several members of the Whig party felt the importance of the crisis so much, and were so sensible of the necessity of sustaining Canning against the attacks of his old colleagues, that they consented to take office under him; and, though Lord John Russell did not compromise himself so far, yet he also was anxious to throw no unnecessary impediment in the way of the new ministry, and

with this view, he waived the introduction of his annual motion for parliamentary reform for that year. He did the same with his motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. It happened that to both of those motions Canning, with all his liberality, was inveterately opposed; yet Lord John, appreciating the advantages to be gained from retaining him in power, declined to weaken his position by forcing him to the unpleasant position of opposing popular motions. And with respect to the last-named question, it ought to be mentioned, to the honour of the leading men among the English Dissenters, that they also were unwilling to do anything that might have the effect of driving from office a statesman who was liberal in all his views except with regard to them. It was stated in the House by Lord John himself, that "many of the Dissenters, feeling, as it were by instinct, that a ministry was formed more favourable to religious liberty than any that had existed during the thirty-seven years in which their question had slept, doubted whether it were fair or politic to force such a ministry to an immediate expression of opinion upon this important subject." In a few months, however, Canning was dead; and after a feeble attempt to form a ministry by some of his friends, with Lord Goderich at their head, the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel came into power. The same delicacy now, of course, no longer existed. In 1828, Lord John Russell brought forward the grievances of Dissenters, and moved for the repeal of those acts which, ever since the days of Charles II., had excluded them from all places of trust under the Government, and from all posts of honour in a corporation, unless they would consent to take the sacrament according to the forms of the Church of England. The issue of this motion shewed the rapid though silent growth of Liberal opinions of late years. Though the whole weight of the Government was brought to bear against the measure,

yet it was carried by a majority so large, that Sir Robert Peel felt any farther struggle was hopeless. He came down, therefore, on the following day, with a proposition that the Dissenters on taking office should take an oath or affirmation that they would not use the power they were about to acquire to the prejudice of the Church of England. Lord John, on the part of the Dissenters, agreed to this amendment; and the measure, so modified, passed with almost entire unanimity through its remaining stages in the Commons, was sanctioned by the Lords, received the royal assent, and became the law of the land.

The next year witnessed the passing of the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill, in which, however, Lord John Russell took no other part than supporting the measure with his vote, as he had done whenever the question was brought before the House. The subject is mentioned here only because it tended to complete the schism in the great Tory party which had long been widening, and which in the following year became complete, and paved the way for all the other changes that have since occurred; for many members of that party who were most earnest in opposition to the Roman Catholic claims believed, that not themselves only, but the great body of the English people, had been betrayed on this question, and that, could the adult population of the country have been polled, there would have been a large majority in opposition to the measure. In so thinking, very likely they were right; for it is observable in all great changes that they are never accomplished by the will of a numerical majority, but by the active, earnest, and unceasing exertions of an intelligent, compact, and organised minority, whose strength of will bears down the listless and inert objections that are opposed to them. It was natural, therefore, that those persons should come to the conclusion, that with a more widely-extended

franchise the result would have been different; yet at the same time those very men still considered that, disastrous as the emancipation of the Roman Catholics was in a constitutional as well as in a religious point of view, it would be tenfold worse to make any change in the franchise. There were still many of the party who felt that the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel had betrayed them, and who from that hour withdrew their confidence in the Government. The ministry thus stood without supporters, when a new election was caused in 1830 by the death of King George IV. Just previous to that event, also, the national enthusiasm had been roused to the uttermost by the news of the French Revolution in July, and the proclamation of Louis Philippe as King, with, as was generally expected at the time, a widely extended if not universal suffrage. The question of reform became therefore the rallying cry of the Liberal party at the general election; and the Reformers, who had been almost everywhere defeated at the previous general election in 1826—Lord John Russell himself, who had been elected for Huntingdonshire in 1820, having been driven from that county, and obliged to take refuge in the Irish nomination borough of Bandon Bridge—were now to be found at the head of the poll in every direction. The Duke of Wellington's Government fell on a question connected with the settlement of the civil list for the sovereign; and Earl Grey, who had remained in opposition since 1807, was appointed prime minister and proceeded to form a cabinet whose rallying cry should be—reform, retrenchment, and peace.

It may seem remarkable that Lord John Russell, who had taken so conspicuous a part in public affairs during the previous years, should not have had a seat in the new cabinet. But the truth was, there were the claims of many Reformers much older than himself to attend to; and, further, it was the object of Lord

Grey to secure for himself as much support as possible, by forming a coalition with the friends of the late Mr Canning, among whom was Lord Palmerston, who had been driven from office by the Duke of Wellington. Many of these now entertained views more in common with the Whigs than with the party in whose company they commenced public life. From these causes it happened that Lord John Russell was excluded from a seat in the cabinet; but his talents were recognised, not only by his appointment to the lucrative office, as it was then constituted, of Paymaster of the Forces, but by a still more singular mark of confidence—we believe, indeed, unique in the history of English administrations—namely, that he, although not a cabinet minister, was yet appointed one of a committee to prepare the draft of the new Reform Bill, and also to introduce it to, and carry it through, the House of Commons. The names of the cabinet ministers who were associated with him in the task of framing the draft of the first Reform Bill were the late Earl of Durham and Sir James Graham. Their plan was submitted to the cabinet, was approved with some modifications, and was submitted to one of the fullest houses that had ever assembled in old St Stephen's, by Lord John Russell, on the night of the 1st March 1831.

A generation has nearly passed away since the Reform Bill became the law of the land, and men now in their prime can hardly form an idea of the system which that measure superseded. It is presumed, therefore, that an outline of the state of the representation of England and the franchise, by the possession of which men became entitled to a vote, will neither be irrelevant nor unwelcome in a sketch of the life of a man whose name will ever be associated with its reform. As might have been expected, the representation which had come down from a period anterior to the earliest records of English history was founded

upon broad and liberal principles, and might have been, and probably was, well adapted to the state of society for which it was instituted; nay, there were indications here and there that the original system had been improved upon and adapted to the changing conditions of society by our earlier monarchs. Comparatively new boroughs were called upon by our Edwards and Henrys to send members to Parliament for the first time, and other towns which had fallen into decay were quietly dropped out of the list. But at a still earlier period in our annals, the number of places that should send members to Parliament, and the franchise on which the voting should depend, seem to have become stereotyped; no further change was allowed, and political improvement became as impossible in England as social improvement is in China. A hereditary privileged caste was created, and outside the limits of its favoured circles no person was admitted to the privileges of political citizenship. Their wealth, their education, their abilities, might rank with the noblest in the land; if they were not in possession of the accidental advantages which the State had determined as the test of freedom, they were excluded from all share in directing the destinies of the commonwealth. But while political power thus stood still, all else was in motion. Education was advancing, not indeed with the rapidity which we have happily witnessed since, but it had awakened from its long sleep of the previous century; trade and commerce were active through a thousand channels, and had created a middle class, wealthy, energetic, educated, and acute beyond what any nation had possessed before. In the provinces new towns had arisen, which could have embraced within their bounds, with no very marked extension, the capital of the Plantagenet kings. It is no exaggeration to say, that the excluded classes far exceeded the privileged body, not in numbers—for that they had always done—but

in wealth, in education, in intelligence, in activity, in trade,—in everything, in short, which constitutes the most valuable elements in a citizen of a free state.

The representation was divided between the counties and boroughs of the kingdom. In the former the anomalies of the existing system were less glaring than in the latter. It could not be but that each English county should possess a comparatively large body of electors, whatever was the franchise; and the county franchise seemed to have been originally framed on the broadest and most comprehensive terms. Every man who was in possession of a freehold, that is, who held his landed property direct from the Crown, no matter how small its amount might be, though it amounted to no more than 40s. yearly value, had a right to vote in the election of a member to represent him in Parliament. As a large portion of the land of England is really held in that manner, and as large tracts of it are parcelled out among small holders, it happened that the county constituency was always a pretty numerous body. But there were grievous defects. The land which was held of other great proprietors, popularly known as "copyhold," was very properly excluded by our ancestors from giving its owner a vote, in the days when holding from a great proprietor implied real dependence, and almost vassalage, instead of the mere name and money fine which it now does; but though the reason of the exclusion had long passed away, the exclusion itself still remained. Then a new class had grown up altogether since the times of feudal servitude. Instead of the serfs of a great lord cultivating his fields and paying his rent, partly in kind, partly in feudal and military service, there were now to be seen everywhere bodies of tenants who had commuted all other forms of service for their farms into the payment of a money rent; and many of them having their holdings secured by leases for a lengthened term of years.

But as the old law jealously confined the vote to property, it followed that mere tenants, whether leaseholders or tenants at will, had no power whatever of voting. Thus it happened that the proprietor of a ruinous old cottage in a country village, who was unable for want of money to effect the most necessary repairs, was in a better position, so far as political power was concerned, than a man who was able to live and thrive on his farm, after paying £500 of yearly rent to his landlord, or the gentleman who possessed an estate bringing him in an annual revenue of thousands, but which he had the misfortune to hold from some nominal lord of the manor.

But it was in the boroughs that the greatest anomalies prevailed. Even in the largest towns that were allowed to return members to Parliament, such as Liverpool and London, the franchise was confined to that class of the inhabitants called freemen—a body of men connected with the municipal corporation that existed in the place. The admission to this privileged class was of the most arbitrary description, and varied in almost every borough. One uniform rule, indeed, was birth—the sons of a freeman always succeeded to the privileges of their father; apprenticeship also was a very common mode of admission; the freemen of the town—the corporation—having been originally instituted for the purpose of encouraging trade and manufactures, were entitled to take as many apprentices as they found it necessary or convenient—were allowed, of course, to charge a high premium on the apprentices so taken, and those apprentices were entitled, when the years of their service were expired, to claim the freedom of the town, with the power of transmitting it to their posterity. But it was always understood that the fees charged to an apprentice on claiming the freedom were considerably higher than those charged to the son of a freeman, and these fees at the end of the apprenticeship, conjoined with the pre-

mium charged at the beginning, had the necessary effect of limiting the number of persons who obtained access to the privileges of the constitution by this portal. There remained still another mode by which admission was obtained. An individual bent on acquiring the advantages of freedom, but who had the misfortune to be born outside the charmed circle, and who had not in early youth been apprenticed to one of the freemen, might still, in some cases, purchase the freedom, though the sum charged, where accepted at all, was exorbitantly high, and, as a matter of course, rendered it accessible to the wealthy alone. And even this mode of admission was by no means universal. It was practised chiefly where other privileges than those of voting were attached to the freedom, such, for instance, as that of trading within the limits of the corporation; but there were boroughs in the kingdom who jealously guarded their rights, and proudly refused to barter them for mere pecuniary considerations. There was still another mode of access—one the most honourable, but, on that very account, the least easily accessible of all. The freedom of the corporation might be bestowed as a gift; but that favour was specially reserved for individuals who had conferred great and shining advantages on the State. It was with great propriety sparingly bestowed, as the highest, almost the only honour, which the corporations could bestow on distinguished citizens, and was, therefore, carefully preserved from being tarnished by its indiscriminate distribution.

It must not be forgotten, however, that there were towns, though thinly scattered, where all these restrictions were abandoned, and where the elective franchise practically amounted to universal suffrage. The electors of this class were called "scot and lot" voters, and sometimes "potwallopers," the meaning of which latter term, though somewhat obscure, is generally understood to be derived from a piece of beef boiling or

walloping in a pot; certainly, all who set up house in these towns, and who, therefore, might be presumed to have something walloping in their pots, were entitled to and exercised the right of voting. But these towns, as already remarked, were the exceptions and not the rule. In all the others the freemen numbered among their members persons of respectability, of education, of rank and wealth—the foremost men of the place. But it may confidently be affirmed that, as a class, they comprised the lowest portion of the population; that the great bulk of the tradesmen, the professional men, all that was valuable in the middle class, were excluded from their number; and that the body of the freemen were open to all evil and corrupt influences.

Such was the state of things in the large corporate towns. But the great bulk of the towns that sent members to Parliament were not large in population or thriving in trade. At the time when they were first introduced into the constitution as elements in the representation, the population of England was concentrated into the southern portion of the island, while the north was left little better than a desert. The manufactures, commerce, and trade which had delighted the eyes of our ancestors in those towns, had long since fled, and left them mere ghosts of what they once were. Not that the ancient towns had in every case absolutely declined. The old crumbling walls which still girdle in many of our old towns shew that they could never have been larger than they are now. But though not absolutely, they had relatively decayed. The trade which once occupied the streets had departed to other centres, and left the grass to grow in those thoroughfares which once roared with the stream of traffic. But as handicrafts and manufactures decayed there, manufactures of another kind sprung up—the manufacture of votes. It was found to be a thriving speculation for a neighbouring proprietor to acquire an influence over the

minds of the few burgesses left, which could be done by a variety of means, and thus the representation of the place was transferred from the votes of free and independent electors to the sole nomination of one man. To such an extent had this proceeded, that many noblemen possessed the representation of six or seven of these boroughs. A story is told of one peer who went to Pitt to ask a favour, and on finding a reluctance on the part of the minister to grant it, said significantly, in reference to the votes he could command in the House of Commons, "We are seven." It was reckoned a sublime effort of patriotic devotion that the late Earl of Darlington voluntarily gave up a dozen of these small boroughs, which he had under his control, and for which he exacted and received no other reward than that the Government of the day should create him Duke of Cleveland. And it must be admitted, that while many proprietors used the influence thus illegitimately acquired for their own selfish ends, many of them, on the other hand, honestly endeavoured to turn it to the advantage of their country, by looking out for young men of talent and intelligence, but who had no means of entering Parliament in an independent position, to represent them. In this manner Burke found his way into Parliament, so did Pitt and Peel, and, not to multiply names, so did Mackintosh and Macaulay. These, of course, were the brilliant exceptions—men who, once in the House of Commons, speedily found their way to the confidence of large and influential constituencies; though of some of them it may be safely remarked, that but for the existence of such boroughs they would never have gained an entrance.

While the existing system erred in excess, by giving members to towns, or rather to mere villages and hamlets—nay, in some instances, as in Old Sarum and Gatton, to mere green mounds that marked where a town had formerly stood—it sinned perhaps still more

glaringly, in excluding from all voice in the borough representation, large and important towns that had sprung up since our parliamentary system was settled, and which had, consequently, been left out of the pale of political influence. The northern towns, those great hives of commerce and industry, were for the most part in this condition. Some far-sighted statesmen in the olden days had, indeed, anticipated the coming greatness of Liverpool, and had conferred upon it the privilege of sending two members while yet a mere fishing village; but Manchester, which is of more modern growth, though of more ancient date, and which has sprung into prosperity with the cotton manufacture, had been altogether neglected, and its three hundred thousand inhabitants were left without a single voice to represent them in Parliament. Birmingham was in the same condition; so was Leeds, and the hundreds of manufacturing towns which now dot the regions of Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. It was no wonder that the active and pushing inhabitants of these populous hives of industry should feel aggrieved at being denied a privilege which was enjoyed by towns the population of any three of which would not have filled a respectable street in one of these great marts of commerce.

In Scotland the matter was simpler, with a less disguised oligarchy. The county constituencies were confined to freeholders, who had, however, little or no relation to their more popular brethren in England. The freehold lands had been arbitrarily fixed some centuries before, and were so restricted that in very few counties could a constituency of five hundred be mustered. The burghs were, as they still are, classified into groups, with the exception of Edinburgh and Glasgow, which had the privilege of returning one member each; in the other cases five burghs united to return one member. This might have been borne with, for the Scotch burghs

are not, generally speaking, of great population. But in all the burghs alike, both in the large and small, the constituency was confined to a class so ridiculously small, that, looking back upon it now, it seems wonderful how the practical good sense of the people bore with it so long. The only parties who could vote in the election for a member for a Scottish burgh were the members of the town council. Even that might have passed if the members of those councils had been elected by the inhabitants at large; but no—the members were self-elected, either really, or, as in the case of the deacons of the different trades' corporations, by so small a constituency that it came practically to the same thing. Thus, Edinburgh, with a population of one hundred and twenty thousand persons, and comprising within its bounds some of the master spirits of the age, was represented by one member, elected by thirty-three persons, no one of whom was responsible to his fellow-citizens for the manner in which he gave his vote. Hence the Scottish representation was looked upon as a series of nomination burghs, at the disposal of the Government. The truth of this was well illustrated in 1806, when Fox and Grey came into power. Though the Tories had had the advantage of having previously filled the town councils with their partisans, still, when the Whigs came into office, they were able to command a majority out of the forty-five Scottish representatives; but when that party, after a precarious tenure of power, fell back in the course of a few months into opposition, at the next general election, which took place soon afterwards, the Whig majority vanished into three members against forty-two Tories, gained by the Perceval administration from Scotland.

In Ireland the franchise stood upon a still different footing. In the counties the franchise was the same as in England, with this important difference, that the 40s. freehold franchise in the one county was converted

into a 40s. rent franchise, and that, too, under a tenant at-will holding, in the other. The Irish landlords had consulted their own interests in this monstrous perversion of the English system, for all their tenants became thus possessed of votes, which, as a matter of course, from the operation of the insecurity of their holding, were in almost every case given according to the dictation of the landlord. Thus it happened that a suffrage which might practically be called universal, was all but invariably exercised by a Roman Catholic peasantry in opposition to the men who advocated their claims. So completely was this the case, that the 40s. franchise was always looked upon by Reformers as the great blot of the Irish representation, converting the counties into vast nomination boroughs, whose representation was in the hands of a few large proprietors. O'Connell himself so much despaired of seeing these voters anything else than blind tools in the hands of their landlords, that he more than once, on being examined before parliamentary committees, gave it as his opinion, that any remedial measure for Ireland's benefit must be accompanied by an act to deprive these voters of the franchise. This was before his system of agitation had arrived at the perfection to which it afterwards attained, and which had the effect of transferring the peasantry from being tools in the hands of the landlords to be equal tools in the hands of the priests. In the Irish boroughs, on the other hand, there were no Roman Catholics whatever. True, they were not formally excluded; but as the corporations of Ireland were like the corporations of Scotland, self-elective, and as no Roman Catholics ever were or had been members of corporations, it followed that no member of the Roman Catholic religion could vote for the member of an Irish borough.

Such is a hasty outline of the state of the representation in the United Kingdom as it was when Lord Grey's ministry undertook the task of amending it.

The measure which was proposed for that purpose provided that all boroughs with a population of less than two thousand inhabitants should cease to send members altogether; that all boroughs with less than four thousand inhabitants should only send one member; that, without disturbing the existing franchise, except in the rare instance of one or two boroughs where universal suffrage was the rule, a new franchise, consisting of the occupation of a house worth £10 annual rent, was added for towns; and the ownership of a house of the same value, for counties, together with the occupation, on a lease for a term of years, of a house and lands worth £50 of annual rent. Members were given to all the large towns that had hitherto been deprived of them; and as there was still a large surplus of unappropriated seats arising from the number of small towns that had been disfranchised, it was proposed that the number of members in the House of Commons should be reduced; but this last proposition proved so unpalatable that it was one of the first alterations which ministers afterwards made in their plans, and the additional seats were provided for by severing the larger counties into two divisions, and giving two members to each. With modifications adapted to the differences in the institutions of Scotland and Ireland, the same principles were applied there also.

The measure was proposed, as we have already intimated, in the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, on the 1st of March 1831. His lordship introduced the measure in a speech worthy of the occasion, containing a spirited representation of the evils of the system he proposed to remove, and a glowing account of the advantages which the new plan would bring in its train. It was hailed with acclamation throughout the nation. Hitherto men's minds had been vaguely directed towards reform as an abstract question, without having come to any precise conclusion as to the

extent to which it should be carried. Whatever may be thought of the measure, now that more than twenty years' experience of it has enabled us to judge of it calmly, it cannot be denied that when first promulgated it took all parties by surprise. The most sanguine Reformers had not dared to hope that a measure so large, liberal, and comprehensive would ever receive the sanction of the ministers of the Crown; and they were in ecstasies accordingly. In the large towns of the kingdom business was almost suspended; nothing was talked of but the prospect which was now opened to the middle classes of gaining those rights and that status in the body politic of which they had so long been unjustly deprived. Years afterwards, Macaulay alluded to the enthusiasm for the Reform Bill and the Reform ministry that was then felt throughout the land, when, as he said, "amid the prayers and blessings of millions, was achieved the victory of Reform; when hundreds waited nightly round those doors till sunrise to hear of its success; when all the great cities of the empire sent forth their thousands to meet the mails from the metropolis and learn if the great battle of the people was lost or won." There was need for all this enthusiasm in favour of the measure, for its opponents were neither few nor feeble. Strange it was to those who remarked the almost universal profession of Reform principles on the hustings at the previous general election, to find that the first danger to the measure came from the House of Commons itself. But, after all, it was not so wonderful. The profession of reform was, as it continues to be, a safe declaration, secure in its own vagueness, so long as there is no practical measure on which a man is called to pass his opinion; and many members of the House of Commons, who sincerely professed on the hustings their attachment to the principles of Reform, had never entertained an idea of being called upon to

support a measure so broad and so sweeping as this,—a measure which, as a zealous Reformer afterwards declared, when he first heard it announced by Lord John Russell, "actually took away his breath." Hence it was that when the second reading of the bill came on for discussion in the House of Commons, on the 22d March, it was carried by a majority of one only in a House of 603 members. In the following month an amendment was carried in committee which was considered fatal to the integrity of the measure, and on the 22d of April the King, by the advice of his ministers, dissolved the Parliament.

And now the people were resolved that there should be no mistake as to the views of their members throughout the kingdom. There was but one pledge exacted from candidates for their suffrages, that they would support "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill." A large majority of persons pledged to support the measure were returned. Lord John Russell himself, who, as we have remarked, had up to this time been returned to Parliament for small boroughs only, but who had now grown to be one of the most popular men in the kingdom, was on this occasion elected by the large and influential county of Devonshire. The bill was speedily introduced, with certain modifications in detail, but all of them tending to impede the free exercise of the £10 franchise, and in that condition it was passed through the House, notwithstanding various attempts on the part of the Tories to delay the progress of the measure. They succeeded, however, in carrying only one alteration, though that has proved an influential one. The present Duke of Buckingham, then Marquis of Chandos, moved that the occupiers of land worth an annual rent of £50, though without a lease, and generally known as tenants at will, should be admitted to the franchise, as well as those parties of the same standing who held their

occupations by lease. The alteration was strongly resisted by Lord John Russell and the ministers, on the ground that these persons, being evidently dependent on the good pleasure of their landlord, could exercise no independent vote, and that wherever they prevailed the representation of the county would be virtually controlled, not by these tenants, but by the landlords, at whose dictation they would give their votes. The Tories were in this instance joined, however, by Mr Hume and the Radical members of the House, who supported the change on the ground that it would increase the number of voters, and would, *pro tanto*, be an approach to universal suffrage, which was in their eyes the *beau ideal* of the representation. By the union of these two parties ministers were reluctantly compelled to give way, and the Chandos clause became a part of the Reform Bill.

It is needless to pursue the history of the measure in its details. Suffice it to say, that after being twice rejected by the Lords, after the resignation of the Whig Government, the acceptance of office by the Duke of Wellington and his resignation after holding it for two days, alarmed by the menacing attitude of the people, the measure was at last allowed to go through the House of Lords, chiefly through the opposition peers absenting themselves from the debates; and it received the royal assent and became the law of the land on the 7th of June 1832. Parliament was again dissolved to allow the new constituencies to exercise their franchise for the first time; and the result was a majority of more than one hundred for continuing the course of reform.

Ministers were now at the height of their popularity, a popularity which it was impossible to keep if they were to retain office and mingle in the ordinary conduct of affairs. The nation had gone through an exciting period, and through what in most other countries

would have been a revolution, without the shedding of a single drop of blood; still the excitement could not have taken place without producing some injurious effects. The hopes of the people had been excited by the prospect of obtaining inexhaustible blessings, not the less firmly expected because no definite opinion was formed of their nature; and because these blessings did not come spontaneously, they fancied they had been deceived, and the ministers were denounced as arch-impostors. Not a few men of this class found their way into the House of Commons, each having his own abuse to denounce, each his own favourite amendment to propose, for the sake of which alone he had supported the Reform Bill; and when they found that the Whig Government, and the authors of that measure, resisted their pet projects, they naturally turned round, and declared that the state of the nation was no better than it had been before. The ballot, short parliaments, universal suffrage, the abolition of the pension list, &c., were brought forward, without regard to time or circumstances, by indignant Reformers; and as ministers were obliged from their position to resist these demands, they thereby placed themselves in a false position with their own supporters, and were denounced as Anti-reformers. In this obloquy Lord John Russell, who had by this time been elevated to a seat in the cabinet, bore his full share. Though not yet holding the position which he has since attained, that of leader of his party in the House of Commons, yet his frankness of disposition and his decision of character would not allow him to shelter himself in a mere silent vote; he manfully expressed his opinions on the various questions that came before him, and hence received a full share of the abuse. But it must not be supposed that either he or his colleagues held an opposite course towards all measures of improvement. The reforms that were effected in the first two or three

years after the Reform Bill were more both in number and importance than any list of bills that have become the law within the same space of time since the first meeting of the Long Parliament. We need not enumerate them, however, because Lord John took no peculiar part in them. We pass on to that question which finally fixed all eyes upon him—we mean the attempt to divert to secular purposes a portion of the revenues of the Irish Church Establishment.

Wherever men's minds have been greatly agitated—wherever the depths of a nation's heart have been reached by a series of stirring events—no matter what may be the nature of the event that gave the impulse, whether moral, social, or political—the ultimate effect is sure to issue in an increase of the religious feeling. The law is regular and invariable, and well deserves the consideration of those who say that religion is a mere invention of priestcraft—that there is not naturally a religious element in the composition of the human mind. The law has been exemplified in various other historical crises—it was manifested again at the time of the Reform Bill. For a time, indeed, every man's mind was engrossed with politics—a year or two only elapsed, and, without any one being able exactly to tell how, every man's mind was engrossed with polemics. The question, whether the State ought to aid the Church in its peculiar mission, lay at the root of the various disputes; but, as if by common consent, the contending parties fixed upon the Irish Church Establishment as their battle-field. There was there an establishment with sufficient endowments to meet the wants of the whole population, while, in point of fact, little more than a million availed themselves of its advantages. There were many cries for the removal of such an anomaly altogether; but the general feeling at last found vent in a motion by Mr Ward, the present governor of the Ionian Islands, that the surplus reve-

nues of the Irish Church should be ascertained, and the produce applied to the general education of the youth among all classes of the community. To the Tories—or, as they now called themselves, the Conservatives—this proposal savoured of sacrilege; and it must be admitted that this feeling was shared by a great majority of the population. It behoved the cabinet to deliberate upon the mode in which they should deal with the question. They were divided in opinion. Lord John Russell took the lead in asserting the abstract right of the nation to deal with Church property, and the expediency of adopting Mr Ward's motion. Lord Stanley asserted the perpetual sanctity of funds once devoted to purposes of religion. The dispute was long and animated; but the energy and the arguments of Lord John Russell prevailed, and a majority of the cabinet adopted his views. Lord Stanley saw in this the overthrow of the Whig ministry. On that same night he wrote to a private friend a note, with this familiar but expressive sentence:—"My dear——, Johnny has upset the coach." He did his best to accomplish his own prediction. With three of his friends, among whom the most conspicuous in after-times was Sir James Graham, he left the ministry; and though he and they affected neutrality for a while, by little and little they went over to the ranks of the Conservatives. The decision of the cabinet, however, though guided in this instance by the determination of Lord John Russell, was not productive of immediate benefit. The confidence of the more advanced Reformers was in some degree restored; but this was more than counterbalanced by the defections of moderate persons, who from day to day seceded from their ranks, and joined the Conservatives. Timid people wondered what institution was to be safe from the intermeddling of the Government — religious Churchmen looked with indignation at their selecting Church property for attack—men of property took the

alarm when they saw the Stanley and Graham secession followed soon afterwards by that of Earl Grey, though it ought to be noticed that the resignation of this venerated and high-minded nobleman was occasioned, not by any difference of opinion with his colleagues, but by the natural wish, at his advanced age, for tranquillity and repose; and the remaining ministers were surprised to see that their popularity had ebbed as rapidly as it had flowed, as was indicated by almost every single election that took place from time to time throughout the country, when a Conservative was almost certain to be returned. At last, on the removal of Lord Althorpe, who held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the Upper House, King William, who began to share in the general distrust, dismissed the ministry altogether, and called Sir Robert Peel to his councils.

The first reformed Parliament was dissolved, and the general election which followed shewed the extent to which the reaction had gone. The Whig majority of about one hundred and fifty votes in the late Parliament was now reduced to an average majority of forty —nay, on the first trial of strength between the two parties, that of the election of Speaker, Mr Abercromby, now Lord Dunfermline, who was nominated by the Whigs, carried his election against Mr Manners Sutton by only seven votes. It was then that, for the first time, Lord John Russell rose to the distinguished rank of leader of the Liberal party. A sense of common danger had united the various grades of Reformers into something like a compact body; and the decided manner in which his lordship had taken his stand upon the Irish Church question, had raised him considerably in the estimation even of the most Radical members. And it must be owned, that in his new capacity he shewed consummate skill and sagacity in conducting the parliamentary campaign of the opposition. One of the first

measures of the new Government was one for settling the tithe question in Ireland, which, levied as it was from the occupier, however small his holding might be, and believing, as he generally did, in a hostile creed, had been productive of many disastrous consequences. The plan of the new ministry was to lay the burden of tithe upon the owner, thus removing all causes of collision between the clergyman and the tenant. The opposition generally concurred in this scheme; indeed, its propriety was almost self-evident; but Lord John wished to tack on to the scheme the measure on which the former Government had split, and he moved a resolution, that no settlement of the Irish tithe question could be permanent which did not include the diversion of a portion of those funds to the purposes of education. The struggle was long and desperate, the majority narrow, but it was decisive. After being two or three times defeated, Sir Robert Peel at last gave up the strife as hopeless, and Lord Melbourne was reinstated in power, with Lord John Russell as Secretary for the Home Department and leader of the House of Commons. But public opinion still continued to be largely against the Whig policy, and Lord John was now to experience it in his own person, for, on presenting himself for re-election to his old constituents in Devonshire, he was beaten by a very large majority. One of his supporters, however, immediately on that event, vacated his seat for the borough of Stroud, in Gloucestershire, and Lord John was returned for that town.

From that time forward, Lord John Russell was placed in a situation which called forth all the powers of his mind, and exhibited him in a light which posterity will probably recognise as containing in it many of the elements of moral greatness. He was in office, indeed, but he could hardly be said to be in power. The majority on which he leaned for support was smaller than any with which a minister had ever before

attempted to govern the country; and even that majority was not composed of a compact and united body. The Radicals were constantly reproaching him with the vacillation and uncertainty of his policy; while a large portion of his more timid supporters looked coldly on his measures, and threatened, if he went a step further than they could approve of, to go over to the Conservative side. He was thus compelled to shape his course, not as his own sense of right and of political experience would have dictated, but in such a way as would unite together in one body the largest possible number of supporters. It was obvious, therefore, that with such a compact and influential opposition, and with a body of supporters so loose and disunited, few great measures could be attempted. The marvel is, that in the face of so many and such glaring disadvantages, the Whig leader should have been able to hold his opponents at bay for six long years, and to accomplish so much good as he did. Among the measures which were passed, we may mention the Municipal Corporations Act which conferred the right of managing the affairs of the municipal bodies on Town Councils elected by all taxpayers within the bounds; and the English Tithe Commutation Act, which provided that tithes should be paid in future on the average produce of the farm for a certain number of past years, and that all farther increase arising from improvements to be afterwards made, and the price of the corn, to be annually calculated according to the average rate in the markets for the immediately preceding seven years. The Irish tithe question was also settled, though not in the way that the Whigs wished. After many struggles, continued through several sessions, the "appropriation clause," as it was called, being always carried, though by a small majority, in the Commons, and as often rejected in the Lords, Lord John Russell was at last obliged to make the humiliating confession, that he could not carry, as leader of the

Commons, what his sense of duty as a minister dictated; and the Tithe Bill was finally passed without the obnoxious clause.

In a controversy which grew up about this time respecting the appropriation of the Cathedral endowments to a farther increase of pastoral superintendence in the English Church, the Rev. Sidney Smith, the witty Canon of St Paul's, who was as much opposed to the measure as Lord John Russell was in favour of it, humorously, and with a pleasant touch of sarcasm, described the Whig leader as a bold man—without fear and with high self-esteem—a man who would undertake to operate for the stone or to command the Channel fleet, with or without five minutes' notice. The truth of this, so far, at least, as courage and unswerving fidelity to duty were concerned, was shewn by Lord John in the year in which the Canadian insurrection broke out. He was at the time, as we have already remarked, Secretary of State for the Home Department, the Marquis of Normanby having then charge of the colonies; but no sooner did the murmurs of the Canadians begin to manifest a dangerous and seditious spirit, than Lord John Russell resolved to deal with that question as the one which was at the time the most important. He, therefore, at once effected an exchange of offices with Lord Normanby, and became Colonial minister. His presence at the Colonial Office did not, indeed, prevent the Canadians from breaking out into open rebellion—things had gone too far for that; but, at least, he managed so that the rebellion was confined to a small fraction of the people, and was speedily suppressed; and by sending over first Lord Durham, and next Lord Sydenham, to investigate their grievances, and to lay the foundation of a better system of government, he so effectually removed all causes of complaint, that from that time to the present Canada has been among the quietest and least troublesome of all the British colonies.

Such are a few of the questions of domestic interest which engaged the attention, tasked the energies, and illustrated the genius of Lord John Russell during the period of the Melbourne administration. The foreign achievements of the Government belong rather to the sketch of Lord Palmerston's life; but without taking them into account, no adequate opinion could be formed of the administrative talents of the Government, nor could it be seen that this Government—weak and vacillating in Parliament—was strong and unhesitating in all its executive functions, especially in its relations with foreign powers. Nor will a personal estimate of the merits of the man be justly formed unless we take into account the vast amount of parliamentary eloquence to which he was almost single-handed opposed. There was first the great Conservative leader, Sir Robert Peel, who, if not gifted with the same high order of eloquence as Lord John Russell, knew better than he did what were the exact kind of arguments that would hit the temper of the House;—Lord Stanley, whose eloquence, bold, rapid, rushing, seemed a perfect avalanche of argument made red hot with passion;—Sir James Graham, cool, methodical, and collected, whose envenomed sarcasms had the more point and force from the cold unimpassioned mode in which they were delivered; with a host of minor men, who fully occupied the powers of Sir George Grey, Sir Charles Wood, &c., leaving Lord John Russell alone to cope with these three giants in debate. The opposition, moreover, was not, as we have seen it in later years, limited to a mere courteous expression of opinion—a difference, where difference existed at all, on mere questions of detail. On the contrary, it was fierce, envenomed, exasperated: stimulated on the part of the opposition by having power for so many years all but within their grasp, while they were yet tantalisingly kept out of it. One sample of the style in which the Government was

attacked—of the spirit in which the Conservative chiefs avowed they conducted their opposition we cannot avoid giving; it is taken from the speech of Lord Stanley, in the debate on the want of confidence in the Government in 1840:—"Let not," said his lordship, "my noble and right honourable friends opposite flatter themselves that if—as no doubt we shall be—we are beaten on this division, there will be the slightest alteration in the course which the great Conservative party have resolved to pursue. I tell them that measure by measure, that step by step, that failure after failure, we will watch—we will check—we will control the Cabinet—we will support them when (as they have often been) they are glad of our support against their friends; but no consideration shall restrain us from pursuing steadily the fixed line of duty which will be the immutable policy of the Conservative party—from obstructing your measures—from confounding your plans—from throwing out schemes, as we believe, prejudicial to the best interests of the empire. We will thus watch and scrutinise your measures from the very commencement of the session to the close—we will leave to others the name while we are content to wield the authority of Government." It will always be to the praise of Lord John Russell, that to attacks such as these he never failed to reply, with an eloquence as thrilling, with derision as lofty, and with principles to the full as patriotic as theirs professed to be.

But it was impossible that such a state of things should last for any length of time; the wonder is that it lasted so long as it did. The death of William IV., and the accession of her present Majesty in 1837, necessitating as it did a new election, while the Whig ministry were in power, inspired their friends with the hope that the country would terminate the strife, which even at that time had been conducted on all but equal terms, by giving a preponderating majority to their

party; but they were deceived, the numbers returned were as nearly as possible in the same proportion as before; and the contest was therefore continued till 1841. About this time the revenue had began to fall off—there had been a succession of bad harvests—trade was stagnant—and, as a necessary consequence, the national income began to fall below the expenditure. Several expedients had been tried to reanimate the sinking revenue, but without success; and, as through the exertions of the Manchester manufacturers out of Parliament, and of Mr Villiers inside its walls, the question of the corn laws was beginning to assume more than usual importance, the ministry, in the spring of that year, resolved upon a measure which should at once restore the sinking revenue and their own declining popularity. This was to admit foreign grown corn, sugar, and timber, at duties much lower than those which were then imposed, and which were so high that they had all the practical effect of a prohibition, and yielded little or nothing to the revenue. It is difficult now to recall the excitement which the announcement of these measures produced. The dealers in Canadian timber and the West Indian planters were furious; but their rage was calmness itself compared with that exhibited by the owners and occupiers of land when they heard it proposed to admit foreign grown wheat at a fixed duty of 8s. per quarter. It was upon this question that the subsequent struggle turned, though the issue was joined upon the sugar duties—a question on which the opposition had great advantages, for they were joined by almost the whole of the anti-slavery interest, who loudly exclaimed against the slave-grown sugars of Brazil and Cuba being allowed to compete with the produce of our free labourers in the West Indies. A fierce struggle ensued on the budget in which these propositions were contained, but it ended in

of the Government; who, on their part, being

unwilling to submit without another effort, dissolved the Parliament and appealed to the people.

The chivalrous feeling of the noble lord, and his possession of those qualities which in the warrior leads him to that part of the battle where the danger is greatest, was strikingly manifested in the course of this election. His seat for Stroud was perfectly secure. It was on all accounts desirable that the leading member of the Government should not be subjected to a harassing and anxious canvas. And the defeat of such a man would have spread dismay and discouragement through the whole ranks of his party. On the other side was to be set this simple consideration, that the city of London, the most influential constituency of the empire, was nearly equally divided in opinion—that its adhesion to the principles of free trade would have a beneficial effect upon the empire at large—and that there was a probability, if his lordship, as the champion of free trade, would stand for the city, the triumph might be secured. Lord John did not hesitate a moment: with the full knowledge that in doing so he was presenting a broad mark for the efforts of his opponents, he gave up his seat for Stroud, became a candidate for the city, and in spite of the almost superhuman efforts of the Protectionists to prevent his return, he was elected by the narrow majority of nine votes. He has ever since held the seat which he then so hardly and so worthily won.

His party were not so fortunate. They were beaten in every county and in many boroughs. The Protectionists exerted themselves as they had never done before to return men of their own opinions; and the suspicion was generally encouraged throughout the country that the ministers had only adopted the principles of free trade at the eleventh hour, in order to regain the popularity which had long ago passed from them. This suspicion paralysed the efforts of the Liberals; and when the Parliament met, it was found that the Govern-

ment were in a minority of nearly one hundred. The Protectionists were not slow to follow up their advantages. Without allowing the ministers to bring forward any measures, free trade or otherwise, a vote of want of confidence was recorded against them. Lord John Russell and his friends were removed from the offices which they had held with slight interruptions for more than ten years, and his place was taken by Sir Robert Peel. It is no part of our business to trace the steps —undesigned in part, and almost imperceptible—by which Sir Robert Peel gradually prepared his party for the passing of a more extended measure of free trade than that for which, a few years before, they turned out the Whigs. It is enough to say, that from that time forward the question of the Corn Laws became the engrossing topic with the nation; and that Lord John Russell himself was among the foremost to advance through various stages to a complete removal of the duty. In 1841 he proposed, as we have seen, a fixed duty of 8s. per quarter. In 1845 he proposed a series of resolutions on the state of the nation, in which he intimated that his opinions had to some extent undergone a change—that if he were in power he would not again propose so high a duty, but would probably limit himself to a fixed duty of 5s.; and, finally, in the spring of 1846, before the existing Government had given any intimation of their intentions, when the first news of the potato disease came from Ireland, the public mind was startled with a letter from the Opposition leader, who was then residing at Edinburgh, from which we give the leading paragraphs:—

"TO THE ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

"GENTLEMEN,—The present state of the country in regard to its supply of food cannot be viewed without apprehension. Forethought and bold precaution may avert many serious evils—indecision and procrastina-

tion may produce a state of suffering which it is frightful to contemplate.

* * * *

"Two evils require your immediate consideration. One of these is the disease in the potatoes, affecting very seriously parts of England and Scotland, and committing fearful ravages in Ireland.

"The extent of this evil has not yet been ascertained; and every week, indeed, tends either to reveal unexpected disease, or to increase in some districts the alarm previously entertained. But there is one misfortune peculiar to the failure in this particular crop. The effects of a bad corn harvest are, in the first place, to diminish the supply in the market and to raise the price—hence diminished consumption; and the privation of incipient scarcity, by which the whole stock is more equally distributed over the year, and the ultimate pressure is greatly mitigated. But the fear of the breaking out of this unknown disease in the potatoes induces the holders to hurry into the market, and thus we have at one and the same time rapid consumption and impending deficiency—scarcity of the article and cheapness of price. The ultimate suffering must thereby be rendered far more severe than it otherwise would be. The evil to which I have adverted may be owing to an adverse season—to a mysterious disease in the potatoes—to want of science or of care in propagating the plant. In any of these cases, Government is no more subject to blame for the failure of the potato crop than it was entitled to credit for the plentiful corn harvests which we have lately enjoyed.

"Another evil, however, under which we are suffering is the fruit of ministerial counsel and parliamentary law—it is the direct consequence of an act of Parliament, passed three years ago, on the recommendation of the present advisers of the Crown. By this law, grain of all kinds has been made subject to very high duties

on importation. These duties are so contrived that the worse the quality of the corn the higher is the duty; so that, when good wheat rises to 70s. a quarter, the average price of all wheat is 57s. or 58s., and the duty 15s. or 14s. a quarter. Thus the corn barometer points to fair while the ship is bending under a storm.

"This defect was pointed out many years ago by writers on the corn laws, and was urged upon the attention of the House of Commons when the present act was under consideration.

"But I confess that, on the general subject, my views have in the course of twenty years undergone a great alteration. I used to be of opinion that corn was an exception to the general rules of political economy; but observation and experience have convinced me that we ought to abstain from all interference with the supply of food. Neither a government nor a legislature can ever regulate the corn market with the beneficial effects which the entire freedom of sale and purchase are sure of themselves to produce. I have for several years endeavoured to obtain a compromise on the subject. In 1839, I voted for a committee of the whole House, with the view of supporting the substitution of a moderate fixed duty for the sliding scale. In 1841, I announced the intention of the then Government of proposing a fixed duty of 8s. a quarter. In the past session I proposed the imposition of some lower duty. These propositions were successively rejected. The present First Lord of the Treasury met them in 1839, 1840, and 1841, by eloquent panegyrics of the existing system—the plenty it had caused, the rural happiness it had diffused. He met the propositions for diminished protection in the same way in which he had met the offer of securities for Protestant interests in 1817 and 1825—in the same way in which he met the proposal to allow Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham to send members to Parliament in 1830.

"The result of resistance to qualified concessions must be the same in the present instance as in those I have mentioned. It is no longer worth while to contend for a fixed duty. In 1841 the Free Trade party would have agreed to a duty of 8s. a quarter on wheat, and after a lapse of years this duty might have been further reduced, and ultimately abolished; but the imposition of any duty at present, without a provision for its extinction within a short period, would but prolong a contest already sufficiently fruitful of animosity and discontent. The struggle to make bread scarce and dear, when it is clear that part, at least, of the additional price goes to increase rent, is a struggle deeply injurious to an aristocracy which (this quarrel once removed) is strong in property, strong in the construction of our legislature, strong in ancient associations and the memory of immortal services.

"Let us then unite to put an end to a system which has been proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter divisions among classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people."

In the struggle which followed on this important question the noble lord took his full share, giving a cordial support to the repeal of the Corn Laws, which, with the aid of the Whig party, was carried to a triumphant issue, in spite of the pertinacious opposition of the large majority of the Government's old supporters. His motives were not, perhaps, so free from party bias in opposing another bill which the administration brought in about the same time for revising an Act to suppress outrages in Ireland,—the measure being then on the eve of expiring. Lord John Russell and his friends opposed the measure from the first; on the first reading they were left in a small minority, for at that time the unbroken strength of the Conservatives voted in its favour; but on the second reading, the

Protectionists joined with the Whigs in throwing out the bill, and Sir Robert Peel resigned almost at the same time that the great measure of his life received the royal assent. Lord John Russell was then sent for, and now, for the first time, he became in name what during the latter years of the former Whig administration he had virtually been, prime minister. His first act, which he carried through during the same session, was to bring forward the sugar bill, on which he had been thrown out of power five years before. The timber question had previously been carried by Sir Robert Peel himself; so that the very Parliament which met to resist Lord John Russell's measures ended by giving to every one of them the force and the sanction of law. Still the noble lord's misfortune followed him of not having a steady majority in Parliament on which he could depend for working out his own views; he was now governing with a Parliament which had originally declared against him by a majority of nearly one hundred. When a new Parliament was called in 1847, the ministerialists hardly numbered a majority; and he was reduced to depend upon the friends and followers of Sir Robert Peel for aid against the strong and irritated body of Protectionists—irritated not at first against him whom they had assisted to place in power, but irritated against free trade, and everything that tended to carry it farther. Then, it must be observed, that Ireland haunted his Government in a way akin to that with which an ancient heathen was said to have been pursued by the goddess Nemesis, in revenge for the party purpose to which he had turned that unhappy country in ousting his predecessors. First came a series of horrible assassinations in the winter of 1846, which compelled him to adopt a more stringent coercion measure than Sir Robert Peel proposed in the former year; then came the potato rot and the famine in 1847 which taxed the ener-

gies of the Government to the utmost; and last of all there were the seditious clubs scattered through Ireland in 1848, ending at last in the rebellion, which had such an inglorious termination in the widow M'Cormack's cabbage garden. Throughout these trying circumstances Lord John Russell maintained his reputation for boldness and decision of character;—weak in legislation, arising from the instability of his footing in Parliament, he shewed no signs of hesitation or timidity in administration; the measures of the Government were at all times prompt in execution, and persevered in amidst much carping from a crowd of hostile critics; and though it would be too much to affirm that the measures decided upon were in every case dictated by absolute wisdom, yet—in difficulties—where it was at best but a choice of evils, it may fairly be stated that adherence to the worst course was better than would have been a change from one system of policy to another, at the instance of every adviser. In the revolutions that took place on the Continent, too, the noble lord pursued a consistent course. His policy was to recognise the independence of every country, with their full right to choose their own government—an absolute non-interference with the internal struggles of foreign nations, combined at the same time with a moral support and encouragement to every effort that was made for the establishment of constitutional government on all parts of the Continent. But as we have adverted more particularly to this matter in our notice of Lord Palmerston, it is the less necessary to dwell on it here.

Those convulsions abroad, however, were destined to have a singular effect upon our religious position at home. Pope Pius IX., who had ascended the chair of St Peter amid the blessings and plaudits of his subjects, as the only sovereign pontiff who for many generations had cared for the real welfare of his people, and whose reign for some years seemed destined to more

than realise their most sanguine anticipations, was rudely awoke from his dreams of popular applause by the mortifying discovery that his people were not disposed to confine their desires for reform to the precise boundary which he had allotted to them. Getting terrified, he fled from his capital, and put himself under the protection of the King of Naples. From that moment he seems to have become an altered man. Abandoning all farther attempts to promote the political liberties of his people, he proceeded—and that, too, at the moment of his greatest weakness—to carry the claims of the pontifical throne to a height which had been unknown since the days of Hildebrand. It was an amusing contrast to the past to see a man who could not muster in his own capital one hundred men to serve as his body guard, proceeding to parcel out kingdoms and territories, as if his power was unquestioned, and his word slavishly obeyed wherever it was heard. While in this condition, that act of his council which caused the greatest excitement was undoubtedly the bull or decree by which he parcelled out England into twelve new dioceses, over which he appointed Dr Wiseman, whom he had newly created a cardinal, to preside. The rage of the English people knew no bounds. Long before, they had been scandalised by the sight of one clergyman of the Established Church after another falling away to the Roman Catholic Church—almost all of them following the same track: first adopting a Romanising style of performing the Church service; gradually adopting Romish practices; and lastly, going over wholly to the Church of Rome. Every report of such conversion heightened the public discontent, which was not the less seen that it was not exactly known how it ought to find expression. The respect for the rights of conscience was strong among the people, and they were unwilling to take any step which might be construed into a molestation of them; at the same

time it was strongly felt that there was treachery somewhere, and the public discontent was rapidly heightening when the Papal proclamation appeared, and the whole concentrated wrath was at once discharged upon the Pope and his emissaries. Yet, even in the tempest of their indignation, the sobriety and steadiness of the national character was preserved; no tumult took place —no outrages were committed—person and property were alike held sacred; and the feelings of the people found vent in the old constitutional form of protests at public meetings. For much of this sobriety and moderation the nation was indebted to a letter of Lord John Russell, addressed, on the 4th November, to the Bishop of Durham, who had transmitted to him a memorial from the clergy of his diocese:—

"My dear Lord,—I agree with you in considering 'the late aggression of the Pope upon our Protestantism' as 'insolent and insidious,' and I, therefore, feel as indignant as you can do upon the subject.

"I not only promoted, to the utmost of my power, the claims of the Roman Catholics to all civil rights, but I thought it right, and even desirable, that the ecclesiastical system of the Roman Catholics should be the means of giving instruction to the numerous Irish immigrants in London and elsewhere, who without such help would have been left in heathen ignorance.

"This might have been done, however, without any such innovation as that which we have now seen.

"It is impossible to confound the recent measures of the Pope with the division of Scotland into dioceses by the Episcopal Church, or the arrangement of districts in England by the Wesleyan Conference.

"There is an assumption of power in all the documents which have come from Rome—a pretension to supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway, which is inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops

and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation, as asserted even in the most Roman Catholic times.

"I confess, however, that my alarm is not equal to my indignation.

"Even if it shall appear that the ministers and servants of the Pope in this country have not transgressed the law, I feel persuaded that we are strong enough to repel any outward attacks. The liberty of Protestantism has been enjoyed too long in England to allow of any successful attempt to impose a foreign yoke upon our minds and consciences. No foreign prince or potentate will be permitted to fasten his fetters upon a nation which has so long and so nobly vindicated its right to freedom of opinion—civil, political, and religious.

"Upon this subject, then, I will only say that the present state of the law shall be carefully examined, and the propriety of adopting any proceedings with reference to the recent assumption of power deliberately considered.

"There is a danger, however, which alarms me much more than any aggression of a foreign sovereign.

"Clergymen of our own Church, who have subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles, and acknowledged in explicit terms the Queen's supremacy, have been the most forward in leading their flocks, 'step by step, to the very verge of the precipice.' The honour paid to saints, the claim of infallibility for the Church, the superstitious use of the sign of the cross, the muttering of the liturgy so as to disguise the language in which it is written, the recommendation of auricular confession, and the administration of penance and absolution—all these things are pointed out by clergymen of the Church of England as worthy of adoption, and are now openly reprehended by the Bishop of London in his charge to the clergy of his diocese.

"What, then, is the danger to be apprehended from

a foreign prince of no great power, compared to the danger within the gates from the unworthy sons of the Church of England herself?

"I have little hope that the propounders and framers of these innovations will desist from their insidious course. But I rely with confidence on the people of England, and I will not bate a jot of heart or hope so long as the glorious principles and the immortal martyrs of the Reformation shall be held in reverence by the great mass of a nation which looks with contempt on the mummeries of superstition, and with scorn at the laborious endeavours which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul.—I remain, with great respect, &c., "J. RUSSELL."

The letter had the effect of calming the popular transport, by holding out the hope that, when Parliament assembled, some step would be taken to resent this insolent interference with the position of England as an independent kingdom. But in legislation on this point, as on every other, the weakness of Lord John Russell's parliamentary position was false to him. His majority in the House of Commons—never very large—had been recently declining; the Protectionists, while favourable to legislation on the subject, held themselves prepared rather to thwart than to support any measure he might introduce; while the members of the Peel party and all the adherents of the Manchester school protested against any legislation on the subject at all. Add to this, that all the Roman Catholic members in the House, who had been to a man supporters of the Liberal Government, now deserted the noble lord, and it will be seen that his position was far from an enviable one. To this may be traced, fully as much as to the inherent difficulty of framing any measure which should not trench upon the rights of conscience, the very feeble bill which was at last brought forward, and which was generally

felt to be an inadequate expression of the popular resentment. Even this measure, feeble as it originally was, had to be curtailed and altered and modified, now by those who wished to relax, and now by those who wished to tighten, the severity of its provisions; and, though the bill as altered was carried by sweeping majorities, yet in the ordinary business of the country his adherents had fallen off to such an extent that he was left in a minority, resigned the Government while the measure was still pending, and only returned to office because neither the Earl of Aberdeen on the one hand, nor the Earl of Derby on the other, was then prepared to accept office. But, obviously, this was not a state of things that could last long; and a change of Government could only be a question of time. That change was precipitated by a quarrel Lord John had with his ablest colleague—the friend who had stood by him through so many years of weal and woe—Lord Palmerston. The cause of that quarrel comes in more appropriately in Lord Palmerston's life; it is sufficient to say here that it proved fatal to the Liberal Government. Early in the session of 1852 the Government was defeated, on a motion by Lord Palmerston connected with the reorganisation of the militia; and, much to the surprise of his friends, Lord John Russell announced the resignation of his Government. Many persons had voted against Lord John under the idea that this was no vital question, as indeed, it was not; in other cases no notice would have been taken of this merely casual mishap; but Lord John was weary of the continually recurring defeats—the checks which rendered it impossible for him to calculate upon a single motion—and he resigned, no doubt, in absolute disgust. Lord Derby was not this time in an uncomplying humour; he accepted office, and retained it just long enough to prove that a return to a protective policy, which he and his party had been

struggling for during six long years, was absolutely and for ever impossible.

On his resignation, Lord Aberdeen was appointed prime minister, and Lord John Russell, with that rare spirit of disinterested patriotism which has characterised him through life, waived any feeling of etiquette there might have been against a former prime minister serving in a subordinate capacity, and accepted office under his old antagonist. His position may be said to be unique. He is now leader of the House of Commons, without any distinct office, his duty being to take the general superintendence of the Government business that comes before the House, and to answer generally for the policy of the administration. These duties have always hitherto been discharged by a minister who had some distinct office—they were discharged by the noble lord himself, both when he was secretary of state in Lord Melbourne's administration, and when he was himself prime minister in 1846–52; but the duties are in themselves onerous, require undivided attention, and there is no doubt that the example thus set will be often followed by succeeding administrations. On first accepting office, however, he took charge temporarily of the seals of the Foreign Office, and it was during the few weeks he held that office that he wrote his celebrated despatch to our minister at Florence with respect to the Madiai, who had been imprisoned for no other offence than reading the Bible; and we cannot more fitly conclude this brief sketch than with this noble testimony of his zeal for the cause of civil and religious liberty. Assuredly, no such despatch has found a place in the literature of our diplomacy since the days of Milton and Cromwell. The despatch is as follows:—

"*Foreign Office, January* 18, 1853.

"SIR,—According to the last accounts received fro

you, the Grand Duke of Tuscany still hesitates on the subject of the Madiai.

"But this is a matter on which hesitation implies capital punishment. It is the same thing in effect to condemn a man to die by fire, like Savonarola, or to put him to death by the slow torture of an unhealthy prison.

"It seems to be imagined, indeed, by some governments on the Continent, that if they avoid the spectacle of an execution on the scaffold they will escape the odium to themselves, and the sympathy for their victims which attends upon the punishment of death for offences of a political or religious character.

"But this is an error. It is now well understood that the wasting of the body, the sinking of the spirits, the weakening of the mind, are but additions to the capital punishment which long and close confinement too often involves.

"If, therefore, as has been lately reported, one of the Madiai were to die in prison, the Grand Duke must expect that throughout Europe he will be considered as having put a human being to death for being a Protestant.

"It will be said, no doubt, that the offence of Francesco Madiai was not that of being a Protestant, but that of endeavouring to seduce others from the Roman Catholic faith; that the Tuscan Government had the most merciful intentions, and meant to have shortened the period of imprisonment allotted by law to his offence; that such offences cannot be permitted to pass unpunished.

"All this, however, will avail very little. Throughout the civilised world this example of religious persecution will excite abhorrence. Nor will it be the least of the reproaches addressed to the government of the Grand Duke, that the name of Leopold of Tuscany has been thus desecrated, and the example of a benevolen

sovereign thus departed from. The peaceful, mild, and ingenuous character of the Tuscan people makes this severity the less necessary and the more odious.

"As this is a matter affecting the Tuscan subject, it may be said that her Majesty's Government have no right to interfere. If this means that interference by force of arms would not be justifiable, I confess at once that nothing but the most extreme case would justify such interference.

"But if it be meant that her Majesty has not the right to point out to a friendly sovereign the arguments which have prevailed in the most civilised nations against the use of the civil sword to punish religious opinions, I entirely deny the truth of such an allegation.

"You are, therefore, instructed to speak in the most serious tone to the minister of foreign affairs, and to lay before him all the considerations stated in this despatch. You will do it in the most friendly tone, and take care to assure the government to which you are accredited, that none are more sincere in their wishes for the independence and happiness of Tuscany than the Queen of Great Britain.—I am, &c.,

"J. RUSSELL."

To this noble remonstrance and the subsequent efforts of the British Government may be mainly ascribed the recent liberation of the Madiai.

We need only add, that his lordship is now engaged in carrying a measure for the admission of the Jews to Parliament, and maturing a plan for the general education of the people—measures to both of which he has given much of his attention, and in support of which he has encountered considerable obloquy.

Lord John Russell has been twice married. In 1831 he married Adelaide, widow of the late and mother of the present Lord Ribblesdale. On her death he mar-

ried, in 1841, Lady Frances Anna Maria, the daughter of the Earl of Minto. He has issue by both marriages.

It is unnecessary to add much by way of a summary of the character of the noble lord. His character will sufficiently appear from the part he has taken in public affairs, and from the speeches he has delivered on every question that has come before Parliament during the last forty years. When a selection from the best of those specches shall have been made, and given to the world, the student will find in them a text-book of constitutional wisdom of rare value. Without the profound philosophy of Burke, or the impetuous eloquence of Fox, they will present more passages pregnant with thought, imagery of sparkling brilliancy, flights of high if not the highest eloquence; and, above all, a knowledge of, and a reverence for, the principles of the British constitution, which will in vain be sought for in the speeches or writings of any other statesman.

# SIR JAMES GRAHAM.

If a long line of ancestors, renowned in history for their gallant deeds and illustrious lineage, can add to the reputation, self-earned and justly esteemed, which men who "have done the state some service" proudly possess, then the present First Lord of the Admiralty enjoys that superfluous fame in an extraordinary degree. The Græmes were an ancient Scottish family, tracing their origin back into the dim traditional era long prior to the Norman or even the Saxon invasion. From a very early time the Græmes enjoyed the highest influence, as the records of the country most fully attest. But, passing over a period of several centuries, we find Sir David Graham of Montrose taken prisoner with King David Bruce at the battle of Durham. From this hardy warrior the Dukes of Montrose descended; and an alliance between his great-grandson and the heiress and only daughter of David Stewart, Earl of Strathern, gave the family the right to quarter the royal arms of Stuart with their own. In the next generation the title was changed to the Earl of Menteith, that of Strathern being annexed to the royal house by Robert II.; and from the marriage of the first Earl with the daughter of Henry Vere, Earl of Oxford, sprung the Hon. Sir John Graham of Kilbride, called "John with the Bright Sword," and from him the house of Netherby is lineally descended. Taking another leap in dates, we come to Richard Graham, Esq., gentleman of the horse to James I., who was created a baronet in 1629, by the

style of Sir Richard Graham of Esk. He purchased Netherby and the barony of Liddell of the Earl of Cumberland. He subsequently distinguished himself in the royal army, particularly at Edge Hill, where he was severely wounded, and lay amongst the slain for an entire night. His grandson, the third baronet, also a Sir Richard, was advanced in 1680 to the peerage of Scotland as Viscount Preston, and sat under that title in the Scottish Parliament. He was British ambassador to the court of France for many years, and subsequently Secretary of State to James II. Upon the Revolution in 1688, the Viscount was committed to the Tower, but subsequently released. He was then detected in an attempt to fly the country, was sent to Newgate, arraigned for high treason, and condemned to death. The intercession of friends procured his pardon under the sign-manual, dated in June 1691, and his estates were not escheated. He married the daughter of the first Earl of Carlisle; and in the person of his grandson the peerage expired. The extensive family estates passed from Charles, the last Lord Preston, to his two surviving aunts, and subsequently to the survivor of those ladies, Catherine Graham, wife of William, Lord Widdington, who, dying in 1757 without issue, devised them to her cousin, the Rev. Robert Graham, doctor of divinity, grandson of Sir George Graham, second baronet of Esk. This gentleman married the daughter of Sir Reginald Graham of Norton Conyers, and was succeeded by his eldest son, James Graham, Esq. of Netherby, who was created a baronet the 28th December 1782. Three years afterwards he married the eldest daughter of the seventh Earl of Galloway, by whom he had issue, four sons and eight daughters. His eldest son, James Robert George Graham, the subject of our present notice, was born in 1792, and educated at Queen's College, Cambridge.

In 1818, when twenty-six years of age, Mr Graham

courted the popular, but by no means pure and immaculate, constituency of Hull. He went there avowedly as a third man to contest the representation with a tried member, Mr Stainforth, and with a wealthy rival, Mr Mitchell. Always distinguished for a fine development of the physical qualities, his personal mien must, in his youth, have been eminently attractive, and in the squibs of the day it was even made the subject of a sneer, wherein he was described as the *Yorkshire dandy*. He sought the favour of the electors by a thorough advocacy of popular demands; and "parliamentary reform, the abolition of unnecessary places and pensions, and the suppression of the slave trade," were the watchwords of his adherents, and the mottoes of his selection. Taunted with his inaptitude for business, the charge was met by an anonymous supporter, under the signature of "Fair play's a jewel," in these words, which seemed to bear the internal evidence of authority: —"It did so happen, that seeking only amusement abroad he found a situation of real business, and preferred it. He became private secretary to Lord Montgomerie, the British minister in Sicily, during the most interesting period of the war, and, in consequence of the illness of that nobleman, the entire management of the mission, at a most critical moment, devolved on him, not a single day passing for a considerable time in which he did not dedicate at least ten hours to business. Lord William Bentinck having resumed the functions of the embassy, Mr Graham still retained his post, though unknown to Lord William, by the particular recommendation of Lord Montgomerie, grounded on his past services. The war still continuing, and active service in the field being anticipated, Mr Graham, to render himself more efficient, accepted also a military situation attached to the person of Lord William, who was commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. He was sent in this capacity to Murat, with whom, at Naples,

he negotiated the armistice which separated that general from Bonaparte. Until the conclusion of the war he remained either with Lord William and the army in Italy, or was absent on various missions to the Austrian head-quarters, and was fortunate enough to obtain the praise and thanks of his employer and the Government." In seeking to fill the seat of the patriot Marvel, and the philanthropist Wilberforce, and to represent the native town of such distinguished men, it was necessary that Mr Graham himself should declare his sentiments, and offer pledges for his future conduct, as well as proofs of his past exertions. Accordingly, on an early day, he addressed the electors, and having stated that difference in political feeling with most intimate connexions in his native county prevented his seeking the object of his ambition in that quarter, explained his principles in plain and vigorous language:—

"It is due to you as well as to myself to deal with you with perfect sincerity; I, therefore, inform you that my principles are genuine Whig principles. Ministerial extravagance and undue influence are objects of my entire abhorrence, and all my efforts will be used in resisting them, whether in the shape of places, sinecures, or pensions. It will hardly be imputed to me as a crime that I love peace rather than war. If it be, I plead guilty to the charge. I consider war as a curse upon human nature, and peace as an inestimable blessing, which it will be my constant endeavour to preserve. I am a friend to religious as well as civil liberty, and see no reason why men should be put into danger or difficulty on account of their religious opinions. Disabilities, pains, and penalties, experienced by man on account of his faith, are persecution. No man ought to be made to suffer them, since his religious belief is not betwixt him and his fellow-man, but betwixt *him*

*s* am a friend to reform in Parliament—
usiastic reform, which, instead of im-

proving the constitution, would, by producing anarchy and confusion, undermine and destroy it—but a moderate reform, which would infuse new life into the constitution, and restore to it power, health, and vigour." Having been accused of being an enemy to the Established Church, he said, "he could assure them that he had been most rigidly educated in its principles, and loved it from the bottom of his heart. But because he loved the Church, was that a reason why he should not be a friend to toleration? Was it for him to say, because he lived in the bosom of the Establishment, that the numerous religious parties into which the country was divided, amongst whom he saw many adherents of the highest talents and strictest integrity, were absolutely wrong? They laboured in their calling according to their knowledge, and would have their reward in the other world—why should they be persecuted in this? He was a friend to liberty in every legitimate sense of the word. He never wished the consciences of his countrymen to be shackled, nor the limbs of his fellow-creatures, in any part of the world, at the will, and for the profit, of their brother men."

Weighing these promises carefully against the known incidents of his subsequent career, no impartial judge can impute any deflection from the strictest interpretation which they can possibly bear. Economy in the public expenditure was zealously advocated when out of office, and honestly adopted when the advocate was in a position to give effect to his opinions. He justly prized the blessings of peace; and it has been his good fortune to pass his whole political existence without experiencing the disastrous effects of war. Disabilities of all kinds, whether civil or religious, were deprecated by the Mr Graham of 1818, and the Sir James Graham of 1853 has lived to witness their almost total extinction; and in the glory of Catholic emancipation and of the abolition of the slave trade has perma-

ally shared; in that moderate reform which was to infuse new life into the constitution he took a prominent part; and his worst enemies dare not accuse him of any disregard of the interests of the Established Church.

The contest at Hull was both tedious and expensive, and at the close of the poll, which then lasted three days, Mr Graham was thirty-eight above Mr Stainforth, and two hundred and forty-nine below Mr Mitchell; but the struggle was still prolonged, as Mr Stainforth's friends demanded a scrutiny. A scrutiny in those days was more expensive than the closest contest, and the whole affair is said to have cost Mr Graham not less than £13,000. The process of striking off votes occupied from the 29th June to the 11th July. Mr Alderson, the present Baron Alderson, was specially retained on behalf of Mr Graham, and Mr Hollock, afterwards Baron Hollock, on behalf of Mr Stainforth. The result was to diminish the number of votes, but to give Mr Graham an increased majority. The numbers at the final close of the poll were:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mitchell (Tory), . . . . | 1323 |
| Graham (Whig), . . . . | 1074 |
| Stainforth (Tory), . . . | 1036 |

After the scrutiny they stood thus:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mitchell, . . . . . | 1155 |
| Graham, . . . . . | 931 |
| Stainforth, . . . . . | 827 |

In the new position of member for Hull, and after the ceremony of chairing had been gone through, Mr Graham assured the electors that he should enter the House of Commons not as a member of any party; he should support no measure he did not honestly conceive to be for the benefit of the country; he should oppose no proposition which in his conscience he believed to be salutary, by whatever man or body of men brought forward. Then assuming a loftier tone, he said:—

"I have been denominated a Jacobin, but if a restless and feverish ambition, with liberty on the lips and anarchy at heart; if a desire to break down the bonds of civil society for the purpose of revelling in licentiousness and blood; if the abuse of popularity for purposes of disorder; and if a secret wish to wade through slaughter to a throne;—if these be Jacobinism, then I am guiltless of the charge. But, if a sober love of liberty be the crime, or a wish to preserve the balance of the constitution, to oppose the encroachment of prerogative, to support the legal rights of the people; if a determination to resist any approach to military government, an anxious desire to enforce economy, a hatred to war, and a love of peace;—if these be Jacobinism, then I must confess the crime; but it is a crime which I share with the best and greatest men of the present day, and with the patriots who are gone, and who are indeed patriots by their defence of liberty."

The death of George III. was followed by a dissolution of Parliament in February 1820; and Mr Graham withdrew from the House of Commons for some years. In the previous year he had married Fanny Callender, the youngest daughter of Sir James Campbell of Ardinglass; and three years afterwards (by the death of his father, in March 1823) he succeeded to the baronetcy. It may be this circumstance that removed an obstacle to his parliamentary career. It is well known, and has been admitted inferentially by the right honourable baronet himself, that in contesting Hull on Whig principles he did not consult the wishes of his father, who was a staunch supporter of the Liverpool administration, and an earnest Tory partisan. Indeed, it has been matter of rumour that the necessary funds for that costly and fleeting honour were supplied by another near relative of the then Mr Graham. At the general election of 1826, Sir James was returned for the city of Carlisle, upon principles identical with those upon

which he was returned for Hull. The absorbing topic of discussion in the House of Commons was the disabilities of the Catholics, against which Sir James was one of the most earnest declaimers. The conversion of the Wellington Cabinet, under the operation of fear, is too well known to need recapitulation. Sufficient, then, be it for us to say, that Sir James displayed an enlightened sense of the duties and responsibilities incumbent upon the legislature, and earnestly endeavoured to impress his opinions with regard to religious freedom upon the minds of unwilling auditors. The time came, however, when, to avoid the disruption of the empire, conviction found its way to the hearts of the king's advisers; all scruples were overthrown in the graver consideration of imperial policy, and, by a sudden *coup d'état* of the most agreeable character, emancipation was declared by the voice of the sovereign, and ratified by the votes of Parliament.

As soon as the great question of the Roman Catholic disabilities had been settled, a weakness in the Wellington administration was developed—not the weakness of timidity, such as led Lord Goderich to resign the reins of government—for timidity, in its popular sense, was about the last feeling which ever influenced the premier—but the weakness of disunion. The more rigid Conservatives were displeased with themselves because circumstances had compelled them to submit passively to the removal of those disabilities; and when men are displeased with themselves, they generally find some one or some thing on which to vent their displeasure. Thus it was, that on the opening of the parliamentary session of 1830, the Duke of Wellington was attacked by former friends as well as by accustomed foes. Discontent was not confined within the walls of the two Houses. The times were out of joint. The commercial classes had not recovered from the effects of the currency bill—wages were low, taxes

were high, and food was rendered dearer by the operation of legislative measures. Distress was alluded to in the king's speech as existing in some parts of the country, and amendments were moved on the address acknowledging that distress to be more general. The Government commanded majorities in both Houses, but the attacks were renewed; and it is at this point that we find Sir James Graham urging the reduction of official salaries, which had previously been raised in consequence of the depreciation in the currency. How completely he entered into the part he had assumed—that of a man sympathising with the sufferings of his fellow-countrymen—may be seen by a few lines in the course of the address with which he prefaced that motion:—

"Sir, I have heard something of the luxury of the present times. I do not know whether the example was drawn from the gorgeous palaces of kings—or the rival palaces of ministers, splendidly provided for them by the public—or from the banquets of some East India director, gorged with the monopoly of the China trade—or from some Jew loan contractor, who supplies hostile armies with gold drawn from the coffers of the Bank of England, and lends money to France arising out of profits on loans contracted here in depreciated paper, but which must be paid in gold. But, sir, I must take leave to remark, that we ought not to draw our notions of the state of the country from scenes like these.

> 'Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen, who survey
> The rich man's joys increase, the poor's decay—
> 'Tis yours to judge how wide the limits stand
> Between a splendid and a happy land.'

Where, I ask, are all the boasted advantages of this once happy country? Where are all the blessings which once distinguished her? Where are all the comforts which her children enjoyed for ages? Alas! sir, with deep regret I witness that all, all are gone—pinching hunger and gloomy despair now usurp their station."

Though unsuccessful in the immediate result, the efforts of Sir James, aided by the concurrence of the Whig leaders, forced the subject of retrenchment on the consideration of the Cabinet, and by opportune concessions they checked for a time any increase of unpopularity. Availing themselves of every means to reduce ministers to terms, sometimes by voting with a Tory lord, and sometimes by supporting a Radical member, the Whigs still carried on their opposition; and, as the king's health was known to be failing, redoubled their exertions to supplant the administration. In this policy Sir James Graham's abilities were in constant requisition. The Government had to meet a species of Indian warfare, in which they could not expose themselves for an instant with impunity to the keen eyes and steady aim of the enemy's marksmen. Sir James was ever on the alert to harass and damage them. In March he moved "that a late vacancy in the office of Treasurer of the Navy afforded his Majesty's ministers an opportunity of saving £3000 a-year, without detriment to the public service;" and the peroration of his speech plainly indicated that his party were impatiently awaiting the opening of the way for their accession to office:—

"Let us shew," said the honourable baronet, "that the House of Commons does not merit the imputation cast upon it by the honourable and learned member for Clare. Let us prove that there is still some spirit of independence in this House; and whatever sidelong glances we may have cast towards the treasury benches, let this meretricious toying with the minister have an end, and let us shew by our conduct that in heart and feeling we still belong to the people. I am bound to state that the present time presents features which are sufficiently alarming. I think that this House is sinking fast in reputation, and it is of the last importance that we should retrieve our character in the eyes of those who have sent us here. If one spark of that fire which

animated the bosoms of our forefathers, and which yielded but for an hour to the iron hand of Cromwell, yet remain—if we are prepared to demand that pledges now broken should be maintained good—if we are prepared to demand the fulfilment of the promise made by the Government at the commencement of the session, that every saving should be made that could be effected without detriment to the public service—a promise broken by the present appointment to the treasurership of the navy before the ink was dry in which that promise was recorded in our journals—this then is the opportunity for that purpose. Let us prove to the Duke of Wellington himself that the Commons are not to be mocked; that pledges to us are not to be lightly made, and still more lightly broken; and that we still dare to vindicate our authority, and to exercise our controlling power, and to make the opinions and feelings of the people available through the voice of Parliament."

Every member of the Opposition was deeply imbued with economic and official longings, but still the Government triumphed, and by a majority of no less than 188 to 90. Before March had ended, another opportunity was seized by Sir James Graham to renew the attack by moving a reduction of £2000 in the amount required to defray the salaries of the Master-General and Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, and of other chief officers of that department. The ground upon which the honourable baronet sought to reduce the amount was the perfect uselessness of the office of Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, and the great advantage of combining it with that of the Master-General; and the soundness of his views has since been confirmed by the practical effect of the change he then advocated. Lord Harwich, Lord Althorpe, Lord Morpeth, and Lord John Russell deprecated the waste of public money, in paying two persons to perform duties which would be better performed by one, but defeat ensued, and the Govern-

ment again triumphed by 200 to 124. In May the Opposition was clamorous for retrenchment; and Sir James Graham, in giving notice of his intention to move for a return of the amount of salaries, fees, &c., derived by all the principal servants of the Crown, said he would not stoop to ignoble game while flights of ill-omened birds of prey were floating in the upper regions of the air—an allusion which was personally applied, with perhaps too much simplicity, by Mr Goulburn, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, who wished to know whether he was more entitled to the character of a bird of prey, when honestly discharging the duties and receiving the fees of his office, than the honourable baronet who had succeeded to a large hereditary revenue of which he was the lord and possessor. Sir James apologised for the form of the expression, but adhered to the spirit of it. "I do consider it," said he, "unworthy of the House of Commons to seek to cut down the salaries of poor clerks, when persons enjoying power, patronage, profit, fortunes, and a thousand advantages which those clerks do not possess, remain in undisputed possession of great and undiminished salaries." Within a day or two, the honourable baronet, in strict consonance with this generous principle, did move for a return of all salaries, profits, pay, fees, &c., whether civil or military, enjoyed by each privy councillor, specifying with the name the total amount received by each individual. The Government had too often professed a desire to retrench unnecessary expenditure to refuse, with any consistency, the return asked; so, with admirable tact, they sought to defeat the object by conceding more than was demanded, and to smother the information in the volumes of names and figures with which it would be surrounded. It was moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as an amendment, that the return should be extended to *all public officers* receiving above a certain sum, leaving the mover of the return to fill in the amount; and,

although the Opposition said it was an evasion, that short documents always conveyed the most information, and that such a return as that contemplated by the amendment would be unintelligible and useless, the Government carried it their own way by 231 against 147. In this debate, General Grosvenor taunted Sir James Graham with inconsistency in bringing forward a vexatious and agitating question, when only a few weeks before he had stated there was only one subject which divided him from ministers, meaning the currency. To this Sir James replied, that the administration had not fulfilled the promises they had made, of reducing the public expenditure, and the difference between them and him had increased. It is but just to point to the subsequent conduct of the honourable baronet in proof of the sincerity of his economical professions, whilst the position of parties, the decline of administrative power in the hands of the ministers, the approaching advent of a new sovereign, and the antipathy of the Duke of Wellington to admit any of the Whigs to a share of office, gave an immense impetus to the activity of the Opposition, and, perhaps, contributed a little to increase the vigour with which propositions were pressed by one whose abilities were recognised, and who must have been conscious that, in the next change, nothing could keep him in the background or prevent acknowledgment of the services he had rendered to the Whig cause.

The death of George the Fourth necessitated an immediate dissolution of Parliament, and various circumstances continued to weaken the ministerial party in the House of Commons. The Revolution in Paris, and the overthrow of Prince Polignac, the despotic minister of Charles X., excited the exultation of the Liberals in every country in Europe; and nothing tended so much to render the administration unpopular as the suspicion that the head of it sympathised with the fallen minister

and his dethroned master. The elections were conducted with unparalleled agitation, and though the people could and did return Mr Brougham for Yorkshire and Mr Hume for Middlesex, they were not a whit the less earnest in their demand for a reform of the representation. The new Parliament met to hear the Duke of Wellington in the one House, and Mr Peel in the other, declare their uncompromising hostility to any scheme for that purpose. That "fatal declaration," as Sir James Graham termed it, raised a storm throughout the country of ominous portent; and a panic seized upon the minds of the tradespeople of London, conjuring up phantasies of bloodshed, anarchy, and pillage. So extensive was the alarm, that the Lord Mayor elect confided his fears to the Duke that the usual complimentary visit of the new sovereign would be made the occasion of serious riot and disorder; and by the advice of the ministry the visit was postponed. The announcement, instead of allaying, naturally aided the terror which prevailed; and the sole fact necessary to illustrate its extent is, that the public funds fell three per cent. in a few hours. The matter was discussed in Parliament, and the Opposition, with great dexterity, threw all the blame on the unpopularity of the cabinet; and upon this occasion, in answer to a challenge from ministers to move a substantive vote of want of confidence, Sir James Graham declared that the time for which they appeared so anxious was not far distant, and proceeded to say:—

"Upon this day se'ennight (alluding to Mr Brougham's notice of motion) the sense of the Commons of England will be taken upon that which I consider the most vital and important of all questions, namely, whether it is expedient or not that the state of the representation of the people of the United Kingdom should be considered with a view to its amendment. His Majesty's ministers and the public have come to an issue upon this great

question, and, as far as I can see, it is the declaration which has been made by the Duke of Wellington on that point, and the sentiments which have been expressed by the right honourable baronet (Sir R. Peel), that have in an incredibly short period of time effected the greatest possible change in the sentiments of the public with regard to the ministry."

The administration, with great shrewdness and judgment, decided to fall, not upon this issue, which would best serve the opposition, but upon the civil list, and Sir H. Parnell having moved that a committee should be appointed to examine into, and reduce, if possible, every item included in that term, they found themselves in a minority of twenty-nine. Immediate resignation was the consequence, and, by the advice of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Grey was intrusted with the task of finding successors to the vacant offices. In the arrangements which followed, three members of the present cabinet became members of Lord Grey's cabinet, viz., the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Palmerston, and Sir J. Graham—the noble marquis as President of the Council, Lord Palmerston as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Sir J. Graham as First Lord of the Admiralty. Amongst those who took office at the same time, though not as cabinet ministers, were Lord J. Russell as Paymaster of the Forces, and Mr Stanley, the present Earl of Derby, as Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Lord Grey, upon taking office, immediately set about fulfilling his promise, at all events, to attempt a reform of the representation; and, for the purpose of preparing a comprehensive plan, he appointed a committee to consider the whole subject, and report to the cabinet. The committee was composed of four persons: Lord Durham, who, being the premier's son-in-law, was perfectly well acquainted with his views; Lord Duncannon, who commanded an extensive know-

ledge of borough history and borough details; Lord John Russell, who represented the Whig party in the House of Commons when dealing with the question of reform, and was highly esteemed for his business habits; and Sir James Graham, who at that time was supposed to entertain opinions most favourable to radical changes, and was certainly very popular with the extreme Liberal party. This committee, during the recess which followed, was engaged unceasingly in discussing and settling the provisions of the measure; and, upon the re-assembling of Parliament in February 1831, their labours were completed, and embodied in the first Reform Bill. Then followed the memorable struggle between the people and the Tory party. The dissolution of Parliament upon the question gave the people the victory in the House of Commons, but the struggle was renewed upon the second Reform Bill in the House of Lords. The Tory party were there at first triumphant; but the excitement out of doors, on the resignation of Earl Grey, the fierce threats of public meetings, the agitation by the political unions, and the determination to withhold the payment of taxes, and, if needs be, to revolutionise the country by force of arms, terrified the king. Under the influence of those fears, he at last determined to sanction a creation of peers sufficient to carry the third Reform Bill; and to avoid that blow, the non-content lords abstained from attendance in the House, and the people were again finally triumphant.*

* This crisis in our history, when, for a moment, king and peers hung trembling in the balance, precluded any attention being spared to subjects of less importance; but, already, the wily policy of the Opposition, in going out upon the civil list, embarrassed the administration, rendered them unpopular with the sovereign, and prevented their effecting more than nominal retrenchment. The passing of the Reform Bill was, of course, the knell of the Parliament, since, by the measure, its constitution was condemned; and on the 15th August 1832, prorogation took place, and was followed by immediate dissolution.

The first general election under the Reform Bill gave to the existing Government an enormous majority, the largest number voting in opposition being no more than 174 out of a total of 658. It was supposed that there could be no limit to the possession of power by the Whigs; but that expectation, like many other political predictions, was very soon falsified. *Par excellence*, the question of the day was the state of Ireland. The dis content of the Catholics, allayed though it might be by the removal of disabilities, was strong enough to prevent the collection of tithe for an antagonistic, and, as they believed, heretical church. To such an extent was lawless outrage and violence carried, that the clergy in Ireland were reduced to penury and absolute want, and in 1832 an act was passed to advance to them £60,000. The Irish tithe system was referred to, and not for the first time, in the royal speech, on the re-assembling of Parliament in 1834, when a final adjustment was re-commended. It was proposed that all compositions for tithes should cease, and that an annual land-tax should be paid, out of which provision should be made for the clergy and other tithe-owners. The bill was first amended, upon a motion of Mr O'Connell's (making the tithe payable from the landlords to the clergy direct, after a reduction of 40 per cent.), and then thrown out in the Lords by 189 to 122. At this time the Catholics in Ireland numbered 6,436,060; the Protestant Churchmen, 853,160; and the Dissenters, 665,540. The Church revenue was £865,525. There were 1400 benefices, of which 41 did not contain a single Protestant, 20 had under five, and 165 under twenty-five, and four archbishops and eighteen bishops superintended these nominal flocks. A new arrangement could not be avoided, and the Government proposed the cutting off two archbishoprics and ten bishoprics when vacancies occurred, the reduction of the income of the primate from £14,500 to £10,000 a-year, and the abolition of

sinecures, first fruits, and church cess. By this scheme operating on the letting of Church lands, a saving was anticipated of about three millions, and the disposition of that amount gave rise to the Appropriation doctrine, that, as the Church would be deprived of nothing present or future, the State ought to benefit by any additional funds accruing from a new and improved system of management. The majority on the second reading of this bill was satisfactory, but many who voted in favour of it said they should oppose it, unless it was decided in committee that all accruing funds whatsoever should be devoted to ecclesiastical purposes. The declaration of the Government that the fund from the new Church leases should be applied to educational and other purposes acceptable to all Christian men, was unheeded, and the appropriation clause was struck out. But this was not the only alteration, for the House of Lords, by a majority of two, outvoted ministers as to the disposal of the revenues of suspended appointments, and decided that only the surplus, after the repairs of the church and glebe-house, should be dealt with by the Government commissioners. In this mutilated form the Irish Church Temporalities Act was inscribed upon the rolls of Parliament. Meanwhile matters did not go smoothly with the cabinet, a difference of opinion existing with regard to the appropriation doctrine, which Mr Stanley, the colonial secretary, stigmatised as a plan of confiscation, and in which view Sir James Graham seems to have concurred. On Tuesday the 27th of May, a discussion was raised upon a motion by Mr Ward, the member for St Alban's, for the reduction of the Irish Church establishment, and the distribution of the funds accruing therefrom in such a manner as Parliament might determine. The debate had only reached the second speech, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer received intimation that the leaders of the minority in the cabinet, Mr Stanley and Sir James Graham, had

resigned—a course subsequently followed by Lord Ripon and the Duke of Richmond; and request was made for an adjournment, which was at once conceded. The next day was the king's birthday festival, and the Irish bishops presented him with an address from the prelates and clergy, deprecating any changes in the establishment. His Majesty, full of the subject, or tempted by others to forget the usual practice, embarrassed the Government by the extraordinary nature of his reply. He assured the prelates, that the Church should be preserved unimpaired—that any necessary amendments should be left to the bishops themselves—that, completing, as he was, his sixty-ninth year, he felt he must prepare to leave the world with a clear conscience in regard to the maintenance of the Church; and, in conclusion, with the tears running down his cheeks, he said, "I have spoken more strongly than usual, because of unhappy circumstances that have forced themselves on the observation of all. The threats of those who are enemies of the Church make it the more necessary for those who feel their duty to that Church to speak out. The words which you hear from me are, indeed, spoken by my mouth, but they flow from my heart." This was not the only vexation which the minister had to encounter, for, almost at the same moment that the king's sentiments were so unequivocally expressed in opposition to his policy, he was prevented calling Lord Durham to the cabinet by the interference of the Lord Chancellor, Brougham. The condition of the ministry has been well described by a cotemporary writer, and not unfavourable critic, as "a cabinet where there was no power of will, no enlightened union, no combined working faculty to sustain the efficiency and dignity of the Government when the *appui* of popular will and popular dictation was withdrawn. Lord Grey was aged, worn, and weary. Lord Lansdowne was for taking a middle course and evading difficulties on all occasions

whatever. Mr Stanley had aggravated all existing difficulties and created many new ones by his haughty demeanour; and the whole administration was kept in perpetual hot water by the intrigues and indiscretions of the Lord Chancellor. Thus disunited among themselves, and struggling in a slough of difficulties which they had not faculty or influence to overcome, they had long lost their popularity, and stood a spectacle of weakness to the weak sovereign himself." The last blow was the resignation of Lord Althorpe, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the Irish Coercion Bill. This took place on the 8th of July, and on the following evening, from his place in the House of Lords, Earl Grey announced that he was no longer minister. Lord Brougham, however, declared, to the amusement of their lordships, that he had no intention to resign, and so it appeared, for, within a fortnight, the ministry was reconstructed under the leadership of Lord Melbourne, and Lord Althorpe was induced to return to his post by the withdrawal of the objectionable parts of the Coercion Bill. By the death of his father in the November following, Lord Althorpe became Earl Spencer; and with his elevation to the peerage obtained that release from office which he so earnestly desired. A few days afterwards Lord Melbourne waited on the king at Brighton, to submit for his approval the appointment of Lord John Russell as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was surprised to receive the unqualified dismissal of himself and colleagues. The Duke of Wellington was sent for, and advised his Majesty to intrust Sir Robert Peel with the task of forming the new ministry. Sir Robert Peel was at Rome, and in his absence the Duke personally undertook eight offices, and in fact alone conducted the affairs of the nation. The appointment of Lord Lyndhurst as Chancellor significantly announced that the spirit of Eldon had passed away from Conservative councils; and the premier's Tamworth manifesto shewed an

unmistakeable determination to seek support on progressive and popular principles. Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham held aloof and declined to enter the administration, and the only member of that cabinet who is now in office is the present premier, the Earl of Aberdeen, who accepted the duties of Colonial Secretary. The Liberal party, thrown into opposition, became more united; and as but a third of the House of Commons would support ministers, an appeal to the country was inevitable. Accordingly the first reformed Parliament was dissolved on the 30th December, and a new one summoned for the 19th of February. An accession of strength, large in numbers, but still insufficient, was the consequence; and on the question of electing a speaker the first defeat was inflicted, Mr Abercromby, who was the choice of the Liberals, having a majority of ten over Sir C. M. Sutton. Then again an amendment to the address was carried by a majority of seven; and, what was more damaging still, the unfortunate selection of Lord Londonderry for the post of ambassador to St Petersburg could not be maintained. On the appointment of a committee to inquire into intimidation at the Chatham election, and on the London University Charter, ministers were also outvoted, on the last occasion by more than 100. But the decisive blow was struck by Lord John Russell's motion distinctly affirming the appropriation principle as connected with the Irish Church, which was carried by a majority of thirty-three. On the 8th of April, Sir Robert Peel announced the resignation of the cabinet; and in the course of his speech alluded to the countenance extended by Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, and their friends, as "a cordial and honourable support on every occasion when it was consistent with their public principles to give it." Lord Melbourne was a second time installed as prime minister, and of his cabinet were the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Palmer-

ston, Lord John Russell, Lord Howick, Lord Duncannon, Lord Glenelg, Lord Holland, the Earl of Minto, Sir J. C. Hobhouse, Mr Spring Rice, and Mr Poulett Thompson. Lord Brougham was excluded, the Great Seal being placed in commission until the following year, when Lord Cottenham was appointed. The Irish Church question elicited the opposition of Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham, the latter disagreeing with the opinion of Lord John Russell that the object of a Church establishment was rather to enlighten the people by instruction and training than to propagate doctrine. The Church in Ireland had been established for the latter purpose, which, it was argued by the Government, had failed; and, therefore, the only mode of preserving that Church was to connect it with large and beneficent general objects. But the Opposition believed, and Sir James Graham, no doubt sincerely, that the conversion of the Irish to Protestantism might yet be accomplished. The bill was successfully carried through the Commons, but the Lords again threw out the appropriation clauses, and Lord John Russell refused the amended measure, on the ground that it was a breach of privilege for their lordships to interfere with a money bill. In the following year, a proposal to settle the question of Church rates, by placing Church lands under management which should yield sufficient additional income to compensate for that obnoxious impost, was condemned by the bishops as advancing the appropriation principle, and so warmly opposed in the Commons as to be carried only by a majority of five. This was a virtual defeat, and the bill was abandoned. A committee of inquiry into the management of Church lands was appointed, and thus matters stood when the death of the king necessitated a general election, by which the ministerial phalanx was still further thinned.

In 1838, the proposal to rescind the resolution of 1835 in favour of the appropriation doctrine was only

negatived by a majority of twenty-six, and from that time the Whigs abandoned the principle on which they returned to office in 1835, and on which Sir James Graham had seceded from their ranks. Though the right honourable baronet had been unsuccessful in his attempts to form an independent party, it must have been no small solace to him to witness the triumph of his opinion, even if he could not rejoice with others on the loss of popularity which it entailed upon his former political friends. The words of Lord Lyndhurst at the close of the preceding session, with due allowance for the speaker, may be taken as a true description of the light in which the ministers had come to be regarded :— "The noble viscount and his colleagues are utterly powerless—they are powerless alike in that and in the other House—they are utterly inefficient and incompetent as servants to the crown, and equally powerless, incapable, and inefficient, as regarded the people. Their conduct elicits the pity of their friends, and excites the scorn and derision of the enemies of their country." It was upon a proposal of the first minister to suspend the constitution of Jamaica that in May 1839 virtual defeat was sustained, by the majority, in a very full House, being only five. The next day the Melbourne cabinet resigned, and the queen sent for Sir R. Peel. The well-known bedchamber question prevented the formation of the new administration, and the old cabinet was restored, but only for a time. Defeated on the sugar duties, but still clinging to office, an unequivocal vote of want of confidence in the administration was obtained by a majority of one, in a House of six hundred and twenty-three members, on the 4th of June 1841, and before the end of the month Parliament was dissolved. The Whig party were deceived in the belief that Lord John Russell's proposal of an 8s. fixed duty upon corn would give them a new lease of power, and by the result of the general election they were left in a

minority of seventy-six. Amendments upon the addresses were carried in both Houses, and on the last day of August the final resignation of the Melbourne cabinet was announced. Sir R. Peel became premier, and under such a leader, Lord Aberdeen, Sir J. Graham, Lord Stanley, and Mr Gladstone, were well content to serve. In the following year the famous sliding scale became a "fact," in spite of Lord J. Russell's opposition, and a most serious blow was struck at commercial restrictions by the new tariff, reducing customs duties on seven hundred and fifty articles, the loss of revenue therefrom being only £270,000. Accompanied though it was by the imposition of the income tax, the relief from vexatious taxation under so many heads made the scheme extremely popular, and enabled the new premier to carry it triumphantly.

The legislation of 1843 was chiefly directed to the condition of the labouring classes, in which Sir James Graham, as Home Secretary, took a distinguished part, and more especially in reference to the Factory Act, when he displayed the valuable prescience of a statesman, in rejecting Lord Ashley's interference with the hours of labour. The ever-recurring subject of the sugar duties occupied a prominent place in the ensuing session, and that and the Bank Charter Act were the most noticeable questions submitted to Parliament. The desire was by the latter measure to secure a perfect correspondence between paper issues and securities, by requiring that gold should always be in store to the amount of all paper issues beyond £22,000,000, the amount represented by stock and exchequer bills. That this may be regarded as an inflexible law in ordinary times, few will dispute; but under exceptional circumstances, such as a severe panic in the money market, few will pretend that it can be inflexibly maintained. It is, however, generally felt that the currency is by no means settled.

We now come to an episode in the political history of the right honourable baronet, which created great sensation at the time, and seriously diminished his popularity. Not that his cold and unimpassioned manner was ever likely to make him the idol of the people; but the people are slow to forget efforts in their cause, and Sir James Graham's name was associated with the recollection of a wise and economical administration of the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, and a hearty support of the Reform Bill. In this instance the national honour was supposed to be affected. The nation was roused to indignation by bold assertions and dexterous suggestions, and any feelings of regard for the Home Secretary were at once obliterated. It was in the month of June 1844 that people out of doors were startled by an admission, extorted by Mr T. S. Duncombe, that certain letters to a foreign refugee had been opened and copied in the course of transmission through the London post-office, under the warrant of the Secretary of State for the Home Department. Jealous as the English justly are of any approximation to a system of espionage, as utterly opposed to the openness and candour which distinguish the national character, this was too grave a subject to be passed over comparatively unnoticed. The public voice was heard through almost every newspaper in the kingdom; and ministers, while emphatically protesting their innocence of the imputations which were freely cast upon them, felt it prudent to concede investigation by a secret committee. Up to the period when that inquiry commenced, it was generally believed—for so it had been asserted, with every appearance of truth—that the letters of two young men, named Emilio and Attilo Bandiero, residing at Corfu, addressed to M. Mazzini, an Italian refugee in London, in which they disclosed their intention to take part in an armed descent upon the coast of Calabria, had been opened, and information given to the Neapolitan court;

so that, when these two young men actually did land with a handful of men at the point indicated, they were pounced upon by a superior force, and, without the form of trial, instantly shot. The fact that the Bandieros did leave Corfu, and land on the coast of Calabria, and were overpowered and shot, gave an air of truth to the supposition that they fell into a trap prepared for them by the English and Neapolitan authorities; but it was subsequently stated in the most solemn manner by the Earl of Aberdeen, our then Foreign Secretary, that if the letters of these two young men were opened, he never saw or communicated the slightest hint of their contents, and consequently that the attempt they made with so much imprudence and temerity would have resulted in their capture and death just the same as if those letters had never been written. The noble earl added, that when it was known such an insane project was about to be put in execution, and that the Bandieros and some twenty men had actually put off in a single boat, orders were immediately given to one of her Majesty's vessels to follow, in the hopes of saving them from the fatal consequences of their rashness; but unfortunately these orders were not given early enough to have the desired effect. Upon this statement, it was impossible for the most prejudiced assailant to persist in charging the blood of the Bandieros on the heads of the ministry. Other blood had, however, been shed at Bologna; political executions had been fearfully numerous throughout the Italian States, and suspicions directed to the more general consequences of opening the letters of M. Mazzini were far more difficult to confute. The secret committee presented their report, in a great measure exculpating the Government; but the discussion was renewed in the session of 184[illegible], and, on the 1st of April in that year, Mr R. L. Shiel moved the following resolution:—

"That this House has learned with regret that, with

a view to the prevention of a political movement in Italy, and more especially in the Papal States, letters addressed to a foreigner, which had no relation to the internal tranquillity of the United Kingdom, should have been opened under a warrant bearing date the 1st day of March, and cancelled on the 3d day of June 1844, and that the information obtained by such means should have been communicated to a foreign power."

The ground upon which the latter part of this resolution rested was a paragraph in the report of the secret committee, stating that information deduced from the letters was communicated to a foreign power, but did not implicate any person within the reach of that foreign power. "But," said the eloquent mover of the resolution, "it may have implicated some person within the reach of another foreign power to whom the information may have been given at second-hand. Give a hint to a Bow Street officer, put him on the scent, and see how much will be traced out of it by him. Put an Italian bloodhound on the track, let him but smell the vestige of a Liberal, and with a sanguinary instinct he will hunt his victim to the death." Mr Shiel farther asserted, that two facts were beyond dispute—first, that the Italian newspapers boasted that Mazzini was under the peculiar surveillance of the English police; and, secondly, that six weeks after the letters were opened, six men were put to death for political offences at Bologna. The extenuation for the interference of the British Government he concisely stated to be, not that the inhabitants of Bologna had not monstrous grievances to complain of, but, if there was an outbreak in Bologna, the Austrian army would march into the Papal States; if the Austrian army marched into the Papal States, the French would send troops to Ancona; if the French sent troops to Ancona, there might be a collision; if there was a collision, there might be a war between Austria and France; if there was a war between Aus-

tria and France, there might be a general continental war; if there was a general continental war, England might be involved in it; and, therefore, but not at the desire of Lord Aberdeen, the Home Secretary issued his warrant for the opening of Mazzini's letters, and acted on the most approved principles of continental espionage. "If you had sent for Mazzini," continued Mr Shiel, "if you had told him you knew what he was about—if you had informed him that you were reading his letters, the offence would not have been so grievous; but his letters were closed again with an ignominious dexterity—they were re-folded and they were re-sealed; and it is not an exaggeration to say that the honour of this country was tarnished by every drop of that molten wax with which an untruth was impressed upon them." To the argument that the committee, composed of men of great worth, and high integrity, and singular discrimination, had reported in favour of the Government, he said, "I admit their worth, their integrity, and their discrimination, but I deny that they have reported in your favour. They avoid—cautiously avoid—finding any justification by approval of your conduct. They say that they see no reason to doubt the goodness of your motives. *Your motives!* There is an aphorism touching good intentions to which it were a deviation from good breeding distinctly to refer. But it is not for your good intentions that you were made a minister by the Queen, or that you are retained as a minister by the House of Commons. The question is, not whether your intentions are good or bad; but whether you have acted as became the high position of an English minister, named by an English sovereign, and administering a great trust for the high-minded English people." It tasked all the powers of Sir James Graham to answer this lofty appeal to national sympathies; and that unimpassioned though impressive manner which distinguishes his oratory, lent additional

force to the gravity of the explanation. The defence was in substance that, in the month of October 1843, he happened to be the only one of the three secretaries of state then in London, and in the absence of his colleagues he was bound to perform the various duties connected with their departments. About the end of August or beginning of September, a movement of a formidable character took place at Bologna. He then received a despatch from Lord Holland, the English minister at Florence, giving information of those disturbances, and representing them to be of no isolated character, but connected with a general movement throughout several Italian states. Towards the end of October, Baron Nieumann, the Austrian minister in London, waited on him with reference to these disturbances, and complained of publications of an inflammatory character emanating from the press at Malta. Having told the baron that the freedom of the press, and British rights, in Malta must be respected, Baron Nieumann went on to state, that he had reason to know there was a person then in London, who was well known in antecedent revolutionary movements in Italy, and who was nearly connected with these publications, specifying that person as M. Mazzini. Until that moment the Home Secretary had never heard the name of that person. Baron Nieumann placed in his hand a newspaper, *Giovenena Italia*, which contained an article, the tendency of which was to encourage a simultaneous rising, written with all the eloquence for which M. Mazzini's writings were famous, and of a very exciting character. The interview then terminated, and Sir James heard nothing more from the end of October until the month of January 1844, Lord Aberdeen having returned to town and resumed the duties of the Foreign Office. In January he heard from Lord Aberdeen that the communication of Baron Nieumann was correct; that not Malta nor Corfu, but London was the centre whence all the move-

ments in Italy were directed, which movements not only caused foreign powers to apprehend danger to the peace of Europe, but was on that account viewed with great anxiety by the British Government. The Home Secretary was then led to pursue inquiries into the previous history of Mazzini, and found him driven from Marseilles by the French government, and from Geneva by the Swiss government, because of the plots he fomented in Italy, from which he had been expatriated. There was a charge made, but subsequently withdrawn, that Mazzini had, whilst president of a secret society, doomed to death two of his fellow-countrymen, and regularly balloted for the executioners, who subsequently carried out the sentence, and assassinated the persons prosecuted. Meeting the charge boldly, Sir James said, "Whatever the offence may be, I alone am responsible for the act of issuing the warrant. The right honourable gentleman asks at whose desire it was done. I give my most solemn assurance to this House, that that warrant was not issued by me at the instance of any foreign minister or foreign personage. It was issued solely with a view to British interests, because, to the best of my judgment, I thought the time had arrived when, possessing by law the power to issue such a warrant, I was bound for the good of the British public to exercise it; and thinking it a painful, an invidious, I may even say, an odious duty to issue such a warrant, still I did not shrink from it." All that he afterwards did was, as he said, merely ministerial. He intercepted certain letters; a copy of every letter was forwarded from the Home Office unread to the Foreign Secretary; and Lord Aberdeen, in his place in the House of Lords, had previously dealt with the imputation of having communicated any of the letters to any foreign minister, or exposed any person to danger, by stating that the course he adopted was this:—He determined that no agent of any foreign government should

see a single syllable of these letters. Further, that no agent of any foreign government should know that any such letters existed, and, of course, that the name of no writer should transpire. In addition, he kept in view the necessary regard to the personal safety of all individuals which might be compromised by any information given. "With this care, and with these precautions, he communicated from time to time such information as he thought he could, consistently with these restrictions and with his duty to the British Government." That Sir James Graham felt the *odious* position in which he was placed, and appreciated the difficulty of defending what he termed this *painful* and *invidious* duty, may best be gathered from his peroration, in which he said:—

"Exercising my judgment honestly and fairly, I did believe, as I still do believe, that in the course I took I did not violate, but, on the contrary, I consulted, the public interests. Wisdom after the event is not very valuable. It is not right to judge an act by circumstances different from those which existed when the act was performed. *The House will no doubt make the just allowance.* They will, I trust, regard the case according to the circumstances which existed when I came to the decision; and I confidently believe also, that had any member on the opposite benches been placed in a situation to which the same responsibility was attached, he would have come to the same decision. I am bound to add, that to receive the condemnation of this House, even in the very modified shape embodied in the motion of the right honourable gentleman, would be the most painful event of my life; but, at the same time, I must say that, on the whole, considering all the circumstances of the case—considering the knowledge possessed by my political opponents both of the usages of the office I fill, which they also have filled, and the responsibility which the tenure of that office involves—bearing

in mind also the facts which I have now brought under the notice of the House,—I would infinitely rather be the victim of the attack on this occasion than the assailant." The division took place in a very thin house, which may be accounted for by the natural inference that many members could not justify the course which had been pursued, and yet had no desire to dismiss the Government with such disgrace, which must have inevitably attached to them, had the motion, which was tantamount to a want of confidence, been carried. With the tellers, there seems to have been only ninety-six members present, besides the speaker, and the result was—for the motion, thirty-eight; against it, fifty-four; majority for the Government, sixteen. The discussion was renewed in the same session in another form, Mr T. S. Duncombe complaining that his letters had been opened in the post-office, and loudly demanding inquiry of the officials. The right of the Home Secretary, in times of public disturbance, to issue a warrant for the opening of letters from or to disaffected persons, was supported by numerous precedents; and Mr Duncombe's complaint led to a disclosure of the instances in which of late years the power had been exercised. It was denied altogether that Mr Duncombe's letters had been intercepted; and it was shewn that, in a majority of cases in which letters had in recent times been opened under the Secretary of State's warrants, the writers had been afterwards convicted of some political offence. The same indignation was not felt against the Government for tampering with the correspondence of the Queen's subjects when the public interests seemed to require it, and a very proper distinction was drawn between warrants issued for such a purpose and warrants issued to glean information for a despotic foreign power, and to enable that power to prepare against attack, and to wreak its vengeance on the insurgents, whose plans had been thus meanly betrayed. It is impossible to gloss

over the admission that the letters of foreigners were opened, and the contents, or abstracts of the contents, were communicated to the Austrian minister; and, though surrounded by precautions of a very strict nature, such a course was felt, and on any future occasion will be felt, inconsistent with the deeply-rooted sentiments of free and honest Englishmen. That the Home Secretary knew the weakness of his defence is beyond dispute apparent, from his requiring a *just allowance* for the circumstances to be conceded by the House of Commons; and we may fearlessly add, that the whole ministry were made aware, from the strong expression of public opinion, how much they had sacrificed in thus stretching the powers they possessed for the assistance of the Austrian Government. Of the loss of public favour the Home Secretary, the instrument employed to steal that information, of course, had to bear the largest proportion; and notwithstanding the softening influence of time, and the still more extraordinary changes which events bring about, it may be questioned whether he will ever be freed entirely from the taint which this transaction necessarily imposes.

It was in the course of one of the many discussions on the post-office that Mr D'Israeli charged the Government, in the person of Sir Robert Peel, with having caught the Whigs bathing and run away with their clothes. Two or three months afterwards, the change of opinion in the mind of the premier upon the admission of foreign corn was tolerably well known, and in that policy, which has since received the name of the great statesman who initiated it, he was ably supported at the council table by Lord Aberdeen, Sir James Graham, and Mr S. Herbert. Lord Stanley was openly hostile; and the Duke of Wellington by no means convinced. The position of the ministry was critical. Arguments, unanswerable when dispassionately examined, would not be received as conclusive when supposed to clash

with the interests of the landed gentry, and hence an opposition from a considerable section of the Conservative party was inevitable. In December, therefore, Sir Robert Peel resigned, and Lord John Russell was called from Edinburgh to form an administration. The favourite Whig plan of a fixed duty had been formally abandoned by the Whig leader a few days previously in the celebrated Edinburgh letter; so it was evident that the new chief must simply carry out the policy of his predecessor. Interesting as a change of ministry usually is, on this occasion little public feeling was enlisted on behalf of the new minister, whilst a strong current of sympathy flowed towards the late director of public affairs, who had again adopted popular views on an important question. In the course of a week, some say in consequence of intrigues against the appointment of Lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary, Lord John Russell abandoned the attempt, and Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues were recalled.

Parliament met in January 1846, and immediately the measures for a relaxation of the duties on corn, with the avowed purpose of total abolition at the end of three years, were submitted to the House of Commons. The debates which followed will continually be referred to by the historian, and amongst the many able speakers none will be found to excel the Home Secretary for terseness and vigour of expression, and for clear and perspicuous arrangement. The opposition which had been anticipated was organised, and the leader discovered in the person of Lord George Bentinck, whose devotion to figures had before been displayed at Tattersall's rather than at St Stephen's. The watchword was "delay;" and the introduction of the Irish Coercion Bill, in consequence of the agrarian outrages in that country, was a ready instrument of embarrassment. The Protectionists, as the new party denominated themselves, were at first ready to support

the Government in the Coercion Bill, believing that the disfavour of the Irish members would lead to protracted discussions. With this view they first voted for it; but finding all their artifices of no avail, that the Corn Law Bill passed the Commons by a majority of ninety-eight, and that it was read a second time in the House of Lords by so large a majority as forty-seven, and that it came down from a third reading without amendments, they determined, in a spirit of revenge, to coalesce for the nonce with the Irish and Whig members who really objected to the Coercion Bill on principle, and to place the minister in a minority on the second reading. Accordingly the manœuvre was accomplished, the urgency of some measure of the kind was the plea for supporting in March that which they opposed in June; but it was transparent to the world that, deserting from the Government on the Coercion Bill, and assisting to place the Government in a minority of seventy-three, was merely for the love of inflicting a blow on the man whom they regarded as a traitor to their interests and a betrayer of his trust. Sir Robert Peel, however, gathered fresh laurels by the gentleness and dignity with which he encountered attacks remarkable for rancorous acerbity and unscrupulous assertions; and when the nation saw him and his followers, who were called "paid janissaries," and "renegades," defeated by the petulant scheme of an impracticable faction, feelings of admiration and sympathy were increased and expressed. Again a change of ministers took place, in which the regret for those retiring was deeper than the welcome vouchsafed to their successors. The Russell cabinet was formed, in which Lord John and two other members of the present cabinet were included, namely, the Marquis of Lansdowne and Lord Palmerston. Sir Robert Peel and his faithful colleagues did not place themselves in opposition, but accorded to the measures

of their successors a general support; and upon the last great struggle of the session, the sugar question, that support saved the ministry from defeat.

The gloomy anticipations of the failure of the potato crop in Ireland leading to scarcity and distress, were realised, and more than realised, and the year 1847 opened with dismal forebodings of the calamity then hanging over that portion of the United Kingdom. Some preparations had been made for employing the destitute Irish on public works; and in the month of March the number had reached seven hundred and thirty-four thousand, besides one hundred thousand more able-bodied paupers in the workhouses, and thousands and tens of thousands dependent for existence on private bounty. Famine, with all its hideous and appalling features, desolated the land. It was useless any longer to make labour the forerunner of relief; thousands were so reduced that they were incapable of exertion, and crawled to the overflowing workhouses to obtain a shelter and die. Stupendous efforts were necessary to diminish the mortality arising from starvation; committees for the gratuitous distribution of Indian corn were appointed throughout Ireland, and the Government expenditure reached a million sterling a month. The session, therefore, was chiefly occupied in legislating for that afflicted country; and several measures were passed of a highly beneficial character, especially an improved poor-law. A proposal was made by Lord George Bentinck to advance large sums for the construction of railways, but the monetary difficulties of the time insured its rejection. Parliament was dissolved in July, and a general election followed, by which the state of parties was somewhat modified; the Protectionists lost several adherents, and ministers profited to the extent of that loss; still they were without an effective majority of votes, and the countenance of the Peel party was, therefore, all the more valuable, because

it was absolutely necessary. The Irish famine was not the only difficulty: a panic seized the commercial world, which, combined with the Bank Restriction Act of 1844, led to the bankruptcy of colossal firms in London, Manchester, Liverpool, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. By the autumn, the liabilities of the houses which had fallen amounted to £15,000,000; and such was the state of things, that a ruinous per centage was paid for discounting even first-class bills; consols fell to seventy-nine and one-fourth; exchequer bills were thirty-five per cent. discount; and one firm could not raise a shilling upon £60,000 worth of silver, though silver in most countries is a legal tender. The merchants clamoured for a relaxation of the bank act, prophesying a total stoppage of commerce. The Government proved inflexible; but the tide was too strong, and, by an order in Council, the required concession was made. Confidence was restored; but it was necessary Parliament should assemble in November to pass a bill of indemnity for this abrogation of the law, which was readily assented to by all parties in the House.

After the Christmas holidays, the session of 1848, one of the longest on record, was renewed, and ministers still continued to have the advantage of Sir R. Peel's generous support, though they had no longer to encounter so strong an opposition. It was out of the nature of things that the Orleans dynasty should be subverted in France, that four pitched battles should be fought in Europe within eight weeks, and that the Baltic and Adriatic should both be blockaded, without some effects being felt in England. The Chartists were excited by unprincipled agitators; and the Government was apprehensive of domestic disturbance. Sir James Graham has graphically described the time and the event in these words:—

"There was a morning—the 10th of April 1848—when all constituted authorities in Europe trembled;

in South America which lubricated their victims with their saliva before devouring them. Sir James spoke from the seat which he had occupied since he left office, on the third row on the Opposition side, near the Speaker's chair, which, being necessarily elevated, gave Mr B. Osborne the opportunity of wittily observing that he had up to that time regarded the right honourable baronet as the

> "Sweet little cherub w itch sits up aloft,
> To keep watch o'er the life of poor Jack."

Whilst, to give effect to the application, he pointed to Lord John Russell, who was sitting in the usual place of the minister on the Treasury Bench, and certainly much less elevated than the right honourable baronet.

The Greek difficulty—increased by the powerful attacks of Sir R. Peel, Sir James Graham, Mr Gladstone, and Mr S. Herbert—did not overturn the Russell administration, however much it may have weakened it. But the Papal Aggression followed hard upon it, and early in the year 1851 the ministers resigned. Lord Derby was not prepared to take office; and the negociations with Lord Aberdeen and Sir James Graham having failed, because of the insuperable objections which those statesmen entertained to Lord John's Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, the late ministers were, after a week's interregnum, reinstated in their former places. The act to meet the Pope's aggression was passed by the assistance of the large party which, since the death of Lord George Bentinck in 1848, had been led in the House of Commons by Mr D'Israeli—not, however, without the opposition of the Peelites, headed by Sir J. Graham, who ably exposed the intolerant character of the measure, if intended to be carried into effect, and its utter absurdity if intended (as it since appears to have been) as a mere *brutum fulmen*. The temporary coincidence of views between the Government and the country party on this religious question did not prevent the latter from chal-

lenging the commercial policy of the Government at a very early period of the session. On Mr D'Israeli's motion that her Majesty's ministers ought to introduce without delay measures for the more effectual relief of the distressed owners and occupiers of land, Sir James Graham warmly defended the cause of free trade, and upon this occasion used a phrase which has already passed into a proverb. The extract from the speech in which it occurred, besides its interest on that account, is a fair specimen of the speaker's style of oratory. Sir James said—

"Now, I will not venture to make any prediction with respect to the price of corn in future; but this, sir, I say, that be the price what it may, the time has arrived when it must be left to find its natural level; and that, for any government or for any legislature, artificially and by power of law to enhance it, I say the day is gone by. And why do I say so? I say there is not a ploughboy who plods his weary way on the heaviest clay in England, who does not feel practically his condition improved within the last three years—*and he knows the reason why.* I tell you again, there is not a shepherd on the most distant and barren hill of Scotland who does not now have daily a cheaper and a larger mess of porridge than he ever had before—*and he also knows the reason why.* I tell you again, there is not a weaver in the humblest cottage in Lancashire, who has not fuller and cheaper meals, without any fall in his wages, than he ever had before—*and he knows the reason why.* Now I must tell you the whole truth. The time has arrived when the truth, without concealment, must be spoken. I will speak of another class still. There is not a soldier who returns to England from abroad, that does not practically feel that his daily pay is augmented, and that he has a cheaper, larger, and a better mess, and that he enjoys greater comforts —and he also knows the reason."

"*He knows the reason why*" will be a familiar saying long after all remembrance of the occasion and the author has passed away; just as it happens now, that not one person in ten remembers, when talking of driving a coach and six through an Act of Parliament, that the phrase was originally used by O'Connell. The ministers passed through the session of 1851 with occasional defeats from their friends, and occasional aid from their opponents. Before the end of the year, the premier had driven his colleague, Lord Palmerston, from the Foreign Office, but retribution was speedily and successfully invoked. In the very first month of the session of 1852, Lord Palmerston defeated the ministers on the constitution of the militia, and their resignation was this time not a mere matter of form. Lord Derby was no longer disinclined to stand the hazard of the die, and immediately formed an administration from the ranks of the country party, giving Mr D'Israeli the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the leadership of the House of Commons. A dissolution was postponed until July, when the most vigorous efforts were directed by the party in office to throw out as many Peelites as possible, and not the slightest advance was ostensibly made towards establishing friendly relations with that small but talented section. The new Parliament met in November, and the country party, with the exception of fifty-three, consented to recant their professions of faith in the cause of Protection. Two forms of recantation were presented—one by Mr C. Villiers, the present Judge-Advocate, and the other by Lord Palmerston. The latter, being the less nauseous, was accepted by ministers, in which they were assisted by the Peelites voting against the more odious resolution. The budget of Mr D'Israeli is as a thing of yesterday, and need only be mentioned for the purpose of indicating the occasion of Lord Derby's overthrow. That overthrow was upon the first resolution necessary to

carry out the financial projects of his colleague; and the resignations of the ministers were accepted just ten months after they had been called to office. It will always be a noticeable fact, that Lord Derby did not follow the usual course of recommending her Majesty to send for some other political chief, and displayed unusual petulance at the course of events, even accusing Sir James Graham of having entered into a conspiracy to insure his defeat—a charge which it is almost superfluous to say, was denied by Sir James, and also by Lord Aberdeen. When the year 1853 opened, Lord Aberdeen and his colleagues were advisers of the crown; and it is the public career of the members who compose that Cabinet which this work is intended to illustrate.

At the commencement of our sketch of the political events of the last twenty-three years, and the important part which Sir James Graham has played in them, we left the right honourable baronet in Parliament, as representative of Carlisle. Whilst member for that city a vacancy occurred in East Cumberland, by the death of Mr J. C. Curwen, and, in December 1828, he was elected for that division of his native county without opposition. Upon the meeting of Parliament he resigned his seat for Carlisle, and accepted the call of the larger constituency. He was again returned without opposition, for Cumberland, in December 1830, when he became First Lord of the Admiralty. At the general election in 1831 he was opposed by Lord Lowther (who held the office of First Commissioner of Works in the Duke of Wellington's administration, and who succeeded to the Earldom of Lonsdale by the death of his father in 1844); but his popularity reduced it to a mere nominal contest, the numbers being:—

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| Sir Jas. Graham, . . . . | 942 |
| Wm. Blamire, . . . . | 917 |
| Lord Lowther, . . . . | 453 |

At the two next general elections, in 1832 and 1835, he was a third and fourth time returned without opposition. But having separated himself from the Liberal party, he was ousted in 1837, and his place supplied by his defeated opponent at the Carlisle election of 1826, Mr W. James. The numbers were:—

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|---|---|
| Major Francis Aglionby, . . | 2293 |
| W. James, . . . . | 2122 |
| Sir Jas. Graham, . . . . | 1603 |

On the meeting of Parliament, Mr Owen accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, and the right honourable baronet was elected without opposition for Pembroke district, where the Owen family possess great influence. His connexion with Pembroke only lasted until the next dissolution, and in June 1841 he found a seat at Dorchester without a contest, his colleague being the Honourable Henry Ashley Cooper, brother of the present Earl of Shaftesbury, who, with his father, had represented the town for seventeen years. On becoming Secretary of State for the Home Department in the following September, under Sir R. Peel, he was again elected without opposition. In 1847, when a general election recurred, he passed from a Dorset to a Yorkshire borough, and was returned for Ripon, with the Honourable E. Lascelles, a Protectionist, and thereby escaped a contest. It may not be uninteresting incidentally to mention, that Ripon was represented by John Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was expelled from Parliament, and committed to the Tower, for combining with the South Sea directors, with a view to his own exorbitant profit; and that in later times, Vice-Chancellor Shadwell, and the late Lord Chancellor, Lord St Leonard's, successively sat for this borough. At the last general election in 1852, "he returned," as he himself termed it, "home at last," and successfully contested the seat with Mr Hodgson, one of the former members for Carlisle, the numbers at the close of the poll being:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Sir J. Graham, | 509 |
| Mr Ferguson, | 494 |
| Mr Hodgson, | 417 |

Thus, after three-and-twenty years' absence, he sought again the favour of the border city in his old character of a Liberal representative; and the review of his chequered career cannot be better given than in his own words:—

"It has been alleged against me that there are imperfections and flaws in my public conduct. I do not deny it. In the course of two-and-thirty years of public service I know that I have committed errors. But I say that we have lived in an eventful period—a period into which the revolutions of centuries have been crowded; and how can it be expected of me that in the short space of half an hour I should vindicate all the decisions I was compelled to take, often under pressing difficulties, and under circumstances that required instant decision. To judge of my conduct aright you ought to know all the motives, and be able to weigh the circumstances of each particular case; and time would fail me if I were to go into a particular vindication of all parts of my conduct. But this I say, I have acted in the face of day—my public life, be it for good or for evil, stands in the clear light. It is in the power of every man who hears me to judge what has been the course of my proceedings. I tell you not for myself, but for public men, and in the interest of the public, do not pry too closely into the flaws of the character of public men—do not hunt too closely into every particular of their conduct, but look to the general tenor of their lives. Try them by this test: has avarice or ambition misled them from the path of public duty?—have they gained honours or advantages for themselves at the cost of the public? Try me by that test. I do not fear the result; and I say that, if my conduct is upon the whole deserving of your confidence and esteem, it

will neither be wise nor just of you, at the close of such a life, for some special errors, to mark it with your disapprobation. Gentlemen, I have had my day. I tell you frankly I have had it; and let me glance at what I have done. I helped, when out of office, to secure for a large body of my fellow-subjects in the United Kingdom a perfect equality of civil rights without regard to religious distinction. In the service of the Crown I helped to emancipate the slaves in the British dominions, and to wash away that great reproach from British freedom by emancipating the negroes in our colonies. In office along with Lord Grey and Lord John Russell I was intrusted with the preparation of the Reform Act, and on that occasion I had the good fortune greatly to extend the popular rights of my fellow-citizens. My friend on my left has referred to municipal reform. In power I was a party to the issuing of that commission of inquiry from which emanated that great measure of municipal reform that established the principle of self-government in the corporations of this kingdom. Then—I am sure there is not a popular assembly in this kingdom in which the name I am about to mention will not be received with silence and respect—in conjunction with my departed friend Sir Robert Peel, I contributed greatly to supply the people of this country with cheap food, absolutely to repeal the duties on the raw materials of manufacture, thus cheapening the price of food and clothing to the poor and needy. Still more, I did my best, and not unsuccessfully, to establish peace in Europe on a rock of safety, by leading to those amicable relations with all the foreign powers, which free trade and extended commerce never fail to bring in their train. Is that all? We hear much talk of law reform. The gentlemen on the other side plume themselves upon their law reforms. Before I left office I prepared the County Courts Bill, and gave it to my successor, and

almost without any change that bill became the law of the land. The other day, when out of office, unbought, and without any personal object, I devoted almost the whole of my time to a commission to inquire into the abuses of the Court of Chancery, from which has emanated that measure of Chancery reform for which Lord Derby's Government takes so much credit. I am very glad to have contributed my assistance; but in justice let it be remembered that my aid was given. Now, with respect to the British colonies, which extend to all parts of the earth, I have striven to support the emancipation of those colonies from the excessive and overweening interference of the mother country. In short, I tell you this: I have borne a part with the best of men in their best of actions; and I say, as Mr Burke says somewhere in his works, 'I can shut the book;' I might have wished to read a page or two more, but I have done enough for the full measure of my ambition, and I can safely say I have endeavoured not to live in vain. I come home at last, after perambulating England. I appear before a Carlisle constituency to tell them that I have no personal object to gratify."

Recent as the appeal to the country of Lord Derby's administration has been, it is not the last occasion of Sir James Graham appearing on the hustings. The acceptance of the office of First Lord of the Admiralty under Lord Aberdeen necessitated the right honourable baronet's again seeking the suffrages of his Carlisle constitutents, and on the new-year's-day of 1853 he was again unanimously elected, pledging himself to abandon office if a Reform Bill was not introduced, but deprecating in emphatic language those points of the charter popularly known as Manhood Suffrage and Vote by Ballot. "It is easy to talk of manhood suffrage," said the right honourable gentleman, "it is easy to talk of the ballot as a blessing to the people on whom it is

conferred; but let me entreat you to remember well, with all the imperfections in our system, the freedom and the blessings you enjoy. In Europe you are the only people who really enjoy perfect freedom of speech, perfect freedom of action, and a control over the servants of the crown—a control which you are exercising this day in my person. You enjoy the utmost liberty which man can desire—namely, the liberty of doing everything short of that which is injurious to your neighbour; and although I admit there are imperfections, great imperfections, which require to be remedied, let me exhort you to think twice before you support manhood suffrage. Look abroad. There is Italy—a garrison of foreign troops. There is Germany; since 1848 everything like representative institutions has been put down, and that mighty country is a camp of hostile armies. Above all, look at France, once the seat of representative government, and distinguished for its success in the arts, in science, in literature, and in almost all the accomplishments which adorn mankind. Universal suffrage and the ballot have been established there; and look! where are the liberties of nearly forty millions of men? One single man is victor over their liberties, and all their rights and privileges are prostrate in the dust."

The unequivocal declaration of the necessity of extending the representation of the people was accompanied with a cautious reserve as to the time when the measure should be introduced; and this promise remains to be fulfilled. Here, then, as member for Carlisle, we leave the electoral history of the right honourable baronet, with one solitary observation: that it is remarkable that so distinguished a statesman should, in the course of a long career, have scarcely ever sat for the same place in two successive Parliaments; and that his connexion with any one constituency should never have exceeded the comparatively brief space of seven years!

Few men have exercised more influence on the debates in the House of Commons than Sir James Graham; yet the secret of this power is not attributable to his style of oratory, for, impressive as it undoubtedly is, there are many who command greater eloquence and more varied delivery; nor is it owing to a long consistency in one political faith, such as claims consideration for the opinions of Mr Cobden on all commercial questions—for in this particular the right hon. baronet's chequered career affords no parallel. The secret is within himself. It rests upon his acknowledged talent, his extraordinary aptitude for business, and his remarkable readiness in debate. Any praise from Mr Roebuck's pen is highly to be esteemed, and any adverse criticism from the same source need not be overpowering. In his recent history of the Whig ministry, Mr Roebuck, weighing Sir James's qualities, says:—"To a clear and logical understanding he added great industry, and all his expositions were distinguished by an exceedingly neat and appropriate diction; a subdued and grave sarcasm lent interest to his argumentations; and while an accurate arrangement made his statements clear and effective, a sedate and collected manner gave weight and a certain sort of dignity to his discourse. As an administrator he shone afterwards without a rival among his Whig associates, and seemed by his ability destined soon to lead his friends amid the stormy conflicts of party warfare. The result has not hitherto justified this last anticipation. Timid and fastidious, he needs the robust hardihood of mind requisite for a political chief. As a second, none can surpass him in usefulness and ability. The responsibilities of a chief, however, seem to oppress his courage and paralyse the powers of his intellect. To the reputation of an orator he has no claim. He is, nevertheless, an admirable speaker, and is ready and effective in debate; but that

inspiration which passion gives he never knew; and, unmoved himself, he is unable to win his way to the hearts of others. His speaking, indeed, is almost without a fault—simple, clear, grave; often earnest, it always wins attention, because always deserving it. He, nevertheless, leaves his hearer unmoved, and is more apt by his own cold demeanour to repel and offend his audience than by his lucid arrangement and accurate argumentation to convince and lead them. He was and is, in short, among the most efficient administrators, as well as the least popular ministers, of his day."

To the character of an efficient administrator we unreservedly subscribe, but to that of an unpopular minister we take exception. It certainly is not patent to the world that Sir James carries with him any public odium. Censure may have been deserved, but it has never adhered to the man. He has been fortunate enough to throw it from him, and to retain for himself only the remembrance of his great ability, his vigorous mind, and his determined purpose. The graphic description of Mr Francis brings him bodily before the reader:—

"As he enters below the bar, his red despatch box in hand, his figure towers above most of the members, notwithstanding that of late years he has contracted a slight stoop. Extreme *hauteur*, tempered by a half-sarcastic superciliousness, is his prevailing characteristic; and as he slowly drags along his tall and massive frame, which still retains much of the fine proportion of youth, in his heavy, measured, almost slipshod tread towards his seat at the right of the Speaker's table, there is a self-satisfied, almost inane expression on the countenance, produced by a peculiar fall of the nether lip and a distorted elevation of the eyebrows, that does not by any means prepossess you in his favour, or suggest any high idea of his intellect. He rather looks like some red-tape minister of the Tadpole school, or some pompous placeman conceited of his

acres. But, by and by, you learn to separate the more fixed habit of the features from this odd expression of the countenance, till you see that the superciliousness is real, though exaggerated by the physical peculiarity. There are no traces of ill-nature in the face; but on the other hand there is nothing to encourage. Meanwhile he has seated himself, placed his red box on the table before him, stretched himself out to his full length, and awaits, with arms folded and hat slouched over his face, the questioning to which he knows he will be subjected at this particular hour, from half-past four to half-past five. He is not left long in his moody silence. Some one has put a question to him. It is Mr Duncombe, who, if one is to judge by the malicious twinkle in his eye and his affected tone of moral indignation, has got hold of some grievance, some letter-opening delinquency, or some case of magisterial cruelty and Home Office indifference, with which he has worked upon the members who do the 'British public' part in these little political dramas, for they are crying 'Hear, hear' with a lusty John-Bull power. Does the Home Secretary start up to answer? Is he indignant at the insinuations thrown out by his smart and ready antagonist? Does he burn to relieve himself of the odium of having sanctioned a system of espionage, or of having neglected to redress some wrong, as he, the poor man's *ex-officio*, is bound to do? Oh, no! he is in no hurry. The breath of the questioner has full time to cool, and the voice of moral indignation to abate its energy, ere he stirs. Then he uncoils himself, rising slowly to his full height, and confronting his antagonist with a well-assumed consciousness of the extreme absurdity of his question, and the absolute impregnability of the defence; if, indeed, he shall condescend to make any answer at all: for you are left in doubt a moment whether he will not allow his assumed surprise to dwindle into a contemptuous laugh, and so sit down again. However, such

things not being allowed by the sovereign people, and as ministers, however despotically disposed, must answer questions, the next thing to be accomplished is to give as homœopathic a doze of information as possible, conveyed in the largest possible amount of indifference, cool quizzing, and wholesome parliamentary contempt. There are stereotyped forms. The initiated know almost the words. Sometimes, however, matters grow more serious. The cool, hard, impassible functionary is compelled by a sense of duty to make a more elaborate statement, and then it is you perceive his superiority as a minister. The clearness, firmness, extent of information, and sound knowledge of his duty he displays, shew him to be not deficient either in act or in explanation when he thinks it necessary. His questioner is then put *hors de combat*, and he himself gets a sort of licence for that supercilliousness and apathetic indifference to popular censure which are so fatally urged to his prejudice."

Such was Sir James Graham as Home Secretary in the administration of Sir Robert Peel. Six years have not elapsed, and he again takes his seat on the Treasury Bench, side by side with Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, and no longer opposite that early friend, "with whom he passed many joyous days and convivial nights," Mr T. S. Duncombe. His appearance is little changed; the same energetic body, the same gifted mind, the same clear impressive voice, the same thrilling language—all that has distinguished the vacillating statesman, and chained respect, almost in spite of judgment, still surround his person and his name. Upon all occasions where the progress of England in the nineteenth century is a subject of discussion, that name will present itself; because, although it has been permanently attached to no single party, it is associated, identified, and indissolubly connected, with every progressive improvement in the constitution and social condition of this great empire!

# MR GLADSTONE.

Mr William Ewart Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the present ministry, is the third son of the late Sir John Gladstone of Fasque, in Forfarshire, and was born at Liverpool in the year 1809. Sir John Gladstone was originally a small tradesman in Leith, where he failed in business. Having the world to begin again, he proceeded to Liverpool, where he engaged in the West India trade, then in its most prosperous state, and by dint of sagacity, energy, and skill, he amassed one of the most princely fortunes of modern times. In addition to his purchasing a large landed estate in the north of Scotland, and founding a family to be carried on in the person and the heirs of his eldest son, it is understood that he presented each of his younger sons with a fortune of £100,000 in his own lifetime. Sir John Gladstone, though a Conservative, was of the Liberal class, and was one of Mr Canning's firmest supporters when that statesman represented the town. Indeed, Mr Canning used, on his visits, to make Seaforth House, the Liverpool residence of Mr Gladstone, his home when he visited his constituents; and it is perhaps hazarding little to say, that the ardent and susceptible mind of William, then a precocious and promising boy of ten or twelve years of age, received impressions from the visits and conversation of that remarkable man which have had a material influence on the whole bent of his subsequent life.

The youth was first sent to Eton, and, after a distin-

guished career of scholarship there, he proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford, where the promise of his early years was fully sustained, and he closed a brilliant college career by taking a double first class in 1831. It is interesting to mark the date at which Mr Gladstone closed his collegiate, and may be said to have begun his public, life. The great struggle between the people and the aristocracy, of which the Reform Bill was the battle-ground, was then at its height, and the clang of the conflict penetrated even into the cloistered schools of Oxford. Mr Gladstone was not the man to be indifferent to the spirit of the times. The stirring events that were then passing around him might not, indeed, withdraw him from his classical studies, but they could impart a new colour and give a varied illustration to their meaning. The contemporary history of England would throw a flood of light on the pages of Thucydides and of Tacitus, while they in turn would furnish him with principles which, as he thought, might serve as a clue through the labyrinthine mazes of party intrigues and contests. At all events, his opinions on contemporary politics seem to have been formed while at college, and they were what might have been expected from a young man connected both by birth and position with the Conservative party, and whose fastidious taste and retired habits led him to recoil with disgust from the practical though often rude and coarse opinions of the politicians who were the popular idols when he entered public life. He became, therefore, decidedly attached to the party at the head of which Sir Robert Peel was then so gallantly but vainly battling against the encroachments of what seemed an overwhelming tide of democracy. But the struggle was over before he could take part in it. The Reform Bill was carried—the last of the unreformed Parliaments was dissolved; and the House of Commons, chosen on the new franchise, was elected in the winter of 1832.

The professed object of that bill was to deprive the aristocracy of their unconstitutional privilege of returning members of the House of Commons by their own influence, and without regard to the will of the constituencies; and to a great extent that object was accomplished. All gross and glaring cases of nomination were taken away; but there still remained many of the small towns where a neighbouring landowner had, in a variety of ways, acquired such an influence among the townspeople, that, in spite of the alterations carried by the Reform Bill—in some cases even in consequence of them—he could continue to have his nominee elected by the constituency. Such a constituency was Newark, and such a patron was the Duke of Newcastle. Some years before, Mr Serjeant Wilde, the present Lord Truro, had gone down to the town, then a close borough in the hands of the duke, and, after a great struggle, had succeeded in wresting one seat from his hands; but he always held that seat with difficulty against the preponderating ducal influence. In 1832 the duke looked about for a member for Newark that would do credit to his choice, and he fixed on Mr Gladstone, then fresh from college, and from a short continental tour. It is creditable to the duke that he should thus have been willing to encourage rising talent—creditable to him also that he should have lent him his influence, as it was long afterwards publicly announced, without exacting from him any pledge whatever; but it is not the less certain that the very fact of his selection by the Duke of Newcastle—to the day of his death a consistent old Tory, and almost the only genuine survivor of the race—proved the character of the opinions with which Mr Gladstone started in life, and his determination to aid the exertions of those who were engaged in stemming the flood of democracy.

But to confine ourselves merely to Mr Gladstone's political opinions would be to present a very one-sided view of the character of the man; for, able as he has

shewn himself in his treatment of all political questions, it is possible that he would place all these in a subordinate position to those of a theological character. Politics, indeed—the well-being of the State—have had an interest for him only as they could be made subservient to that which he esteemed of still higher importance to the interests of humanity, the well-being of the Church; and in the affairs of the Church, as in those of the State, there was a crisis at the period of Mr Gladstone's entrance into public life.

We have elsewhere remarked, that whenever the national heart is stirred to its depths, a religious element, latent, perhaps, and unsuspected before, is sure to make itself prominent. This was peculiarly the case in the great national crisis of 1832. It took effect on all our religious bodies—on none more, or for purposes more pregnant with good or evil, than the Church of England. The form it assumed was a renewal of what are called Church principles—that is, the inherent virtue in the Christian sacraments and a divinely-appointed order of men, following in a divinely-appointed order of succession, to administer them; and, generally, in an approximation to principles which are usually held to characterise the Church of Rome;—these received a new impulse from that period, and, notwithstanding many checks, they have ever since continued to grow. It has been usual to say that this new-born zeal for principles that seemed obsolete was but the result of the interested fears of certain clergymen that reform would penetrate to their position, and materially affect their endowments, and who, therefore, continued to fence round the Church, and all connected with it, with a sacred sanction to ward off profane intruders; and undoubtedly there might be some who were actuated by these unworthy motives. But it were to make a very shallow estimate of this (we cannot help saying) disastrous and retrograde movement in the Church of England, to sup-

pose that it had no other origin than the unworthy fears of its authors. Undoubtedly it represents a mental craving of the present day—an uneasy feeling of the mind, tossed on that speculative sea of inquiry into first principles which the Reform era ushered in, and an anxious desire for repose, on assured foundations, which these persons fondly imagined was to be found in the authority, not of the Bible, but of the Church—that is to say, the grave and reverend men who, from the beginning of her history down to a period more or less recent, had spoken in her name. The scheme had its charms for young and susceptible minds; it had not then developed the final direction of its movement, by sending over its most accomplished and ardent votaries to the Church of Rome; and it is not therefore to be wondered at, that at Oxford, the seat of its birth, and the residence of its most gifted advocates, it should have gained many adherents among lively and generous and susceptible minds. Among the most distinguished of these was undoubtedly Mr Gladstone.

Mr Gladstone, therefore, entered public life deeply and conscientiously attached to the two great retrogressive parties of the day—the retrogressive in politics, and the retrogressive in theology. How his powerful and subtle mind has been able to disentangle itself, at least from the more pernicious consequences of his early creed, is an interesting study for those who delight to trace the development of an ardent, honest, and thoroughly genuine man; it is indicated in the whole course of his subsequent career, of which we can only give the outline.

Mr Gladstone, as we have already intimated, took his seat in the first Reformed Parliament, which met in the spring of 1833, as member for Newark, and took his place on the Conservative benches, under the leadership of Sir Robert Peel. Everybody remembers that that election had the effect of scattering the old Tory

party to the winds; that few of the individuals who had been recognised as leaders found their way back to the House; and that the party, as a whole, seemed extinct. It was under these unpromising circumstances that the genius of Sir Robert Peel shone conspicuous. His sagacious mind comprehended the whole exigencies of the crisis; and in addressing himself to the task of re-organising and building up a Conservative party in the House and in the country, he intuitively conceived the idea of attaching to himself the youthful and rising genius of the land, that their ardour might carry out the plans which his experience dictated. It was not long before his attention was thus directed to Mr Gladstone, who, though a young member, had more than once addressed the House in a manner which shewed that, once the rust of college education was rubbed off, he possessed all the requisites of a first-rate parliamentary debater. Accordingly, in 1834, when Sir Robert was brought home in haste from Italy to assume the reins of office, he manifested his appreciation of Mr Gladstone's talents by appointing him a Lord of the Treasury, usually considered as the first step in official life. He could hardly be said to have entered upon that office, however; for, when Mr Stuart Wortley, who had been appointed Under-Secretary for the Colonies, failed to obtain a seat in the election of 1835, and resigned his appointment in consequence, Sir Robert conferred the appointment upon Mr Gladstone, who had again been returned for Newark. Thus, his first initiation into politics was in connexion with the interests of our colonies—a subject in which he has ever since taken a deep interest, and on which he has shewn extensive information and singular ability. The new ministry, however, did not last long. They were beaten on the question of appropriating the revenues of the Irish Church, and resigned office in April 1835, when Mr Gladstone followed his chief into opposition.

Mr Gladstone was at this time only in his twenty-sixth year, but he had already established for himself a commanding position in the House. After the great chiefs of the party—after Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Stanley, and Sir James Graham, there was no Conservative orator that could command more attention—no one the announcement of whose name could more quickly empty Bellamy's, or the smoking-room, or the library, and fill the benches of the House with eager listeners, than Mr Gladstone. His voice is clear and musical—his expression ready and fluent—and there is a stateliness and finish in the flow of his periods which is seldom heard within the walls of St Stephen's. He is sure, also, to take the question out of the beaten path of debate—to present it in some new and unexpected light—and to invest it, without any trace of pedantry, with classic and historical allusions, which are the sure marks of a scholar and a gentleman. His speeches, however, were at this time those of a thorough-going partisan; and no one could have imagined in the rising young Conservative the champion of free trade or of Liberalism, which he has become in the course of a few years.

The relations between Church and State were about this time actively canvassed by various parties, and the alliance of the two bodies was vigorously impugned on one side, while it was as vigorously defended on the other. So much interest had the question excited, that royal and noble dukes were to be seen, week after week, in the Hanover Square Rooms, listening to the lectures of Dr Chalmers, who, though a Scotch Presbyterian, had been invited to London to defend their cause. The question had peculiar attractions for the mind of Mr Gladstone—ingenious, speculative, subtle—at the same time that its moral importance commended itself to his best feelings; and, in 1838, he gave to the world a volume on "The State in its Relation to the Church,"

treating the whole question in a new and peculiar manner. It would be difficult to attempt an analysis of a book which abounds so much in rare and subtle distinctions; but the groundwork of the whole seems to be this—that, as an individual, who has a duty which he owes to God, in addition to all the relative duties he owes to society, is bound to have a religious principle as well as a moral code, so the State, which is similar to an individual in this, that it is one entire whole, is equally bound to religious principle, and ought to make, therefore, a religious profession. But, as an individual cannot profess a double religion, no more can a State, and must, therefore, elect and profess that religion which most commends itself to the judgment of the majority. It follows from this—and Mr Gladstone does not shrink from drawing the logical inference—that while the State professes one form of religion it ought to discourage every other; not indeed in the way of persecution or actual punishment of any sort, but by excluding them from civil offices, and from all marks of national honour. The promulgation of this theory called down upon him many severe censures, the most galling of which was an article by Mr Macaulay in the *Edinburgh Review* for 1839, since published in the collected edition of his works.

In the discussion on the Chinese war, about the same time, Mr Gladstone took an active part, and surpassed almost all the speakers on his own side of the House in the extent to which he justified the practices adopted by the Chinese for the annoyance and insult of the English. Among other atrocities practised by that people was the poisoning of the wells resorted to by the English troops; and Mr Gladstone did not shrink from justifying this practice also—an attempt which drew down upon him considerable odium in the House. In the debate—which ended in the defeat of the Whig ministry—on the admission of foreign sugar, Mr Glad-

stone also took an active part; and, in some degree, had his revenge on Mr Macaulay for the damaging article we have already alluded to, in the "*Edinburgh*." The great historian, of course, defended the admission of slave-grown sugar, on which Mr Gladstone, in a speech of great eloquence, charged him with a deviation from the principles which had been held by his father, the well-known Zachary Macaulay, one of the founders of the anti-slavery society.

In 1841 Sir Robert Peel came into power, and Mr Gladstone, who had by this time fully established his position as one of the most rising debaters in the House, was appointed Master of the Mint and Vice-President of the Board of Trade. It was in the latter capacity that his powers were most taxed. There can be little doubt that his chief, even at this early period, began to entertain doubts of the policy of the existing Corn Laws, and to contemplate the possibility of their repeal at no distant period. But it was necessary gradually to feel his way—to proceed by slow and cautious steps. One of these steps was to reduce the import duties on a number of articles, which, though of little value in themselves, were yet defended by the Protectionist party as buttresses and outworks of the great protecting duty on corn. Sir Robert determined to attack these, however, and he ingeniously contrived a reason for doing so in the necessity for the imposition of the income tax, so that individuals who were mulcted in that tax might have a compensation in the cheapness of articles of ordinary consumption. The whole British tariff was therefore to be revised, with a view to a general reduction of the scale of duties, and the whole labour of this revision fell upon Mr Gladstone. There can be no doubt that the discipline upon his mind was a most salutary one. It was probably the turning point of his whole life. His investigations made him thoroughly familiar with the pernicious effects of high customhouse

duties in all their ramifications. He had not before definitively pronounced his opinions on the subject of free trade: he rose from his studies a confirmed free trader; and, though the time for a full declaration of his sentiments was not yet come, he contrived in many ways, by articles in reviews, thinly disguised, to make his sentiments known. The admission of Canadian wheat in 1843, which had up to that time been treated as foreign produce, was generally attributed to his influence. It ought not to be omitted here, that the tariff revision, when it was brought before the House of Commons, was found to be admirably executed—comprehensive in its principles, complete in its details—and it received the sanction of Parliament without, we believe, a single alteration.

But we must return to Mr Gladstone's theological views. The first faint indications of any change in his published sentiments were contained in a speech which he made in defence of a measure introduced by Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst in 1842, in favour of the Unitarians. It is well known that many of the Dissenting chapels, now occupied by the Unitarian body, were originally built and occupied by orthodox Dissenters, and that, by the lapse of time and the imperceptible change of creed on the part of their occupiers, they had fallen at last into the present hands. Just before this time, the orthodox Dissenters, flushed with the victory which they had gained, in wresting certain charities out of the hands of that body, openly declared their intention of proceeding to try the right of the Unitarians to these places of worship. The declaration spread great alarm among the Unitarians; and the Lord Chancellor, to quiet their fears, introduced a bill to provide that, wherever a chapel had remained for forty years unquestioned in the possession of a particular denomination, that was to be taken as barring all further proceedings at law against them. The measure was opposed

in the House of Commons; but Mr Gladstone came forward in its defence, and, in the course of his speech, manifested an extensive acquaintance with the views and history of Dissenters in that obscure and dead portion of English theological history—the reigns of the two first Georges. It may be said that Mr Gladstone's taking part in this dispute at all, was no indication of increased liberality of views, as he would regard it in the light of a dispute between denominations, both of whom were far from the truth. There may be some force in this, but still there was an enlargement and a breadth of view in his mode of treating the question, which indicated that his mind was slowly, and it might be unconsciously, working its way out of the narrow circle within which a vicious logic had bound him. The question, however, came to a crisis in 1845. In that year his friend and chief, Sir Robert Peel, introduced a measure for materially increasing the endowments which, for a number of years past, Parliament had voted to the College of Maynooth. Now, the existence of Maynooth had been a stumbling-block to Mr Gladstone in his arguments as contained in his book. He could not account for it, or defend it on the principles he had laid down. It was, therefore, to be regarded as an anomaly which only its lengthened existence could tolerate; but now here was the very Government, of which he formed a part, proposing to increase the grant which, in its original condition, was at variance with his first principles. What was Mr Gladstone's part in such a case. If he had still held those principles with all the ardour and all the earnestness with which he first published them, he would have resigned his office and given an uncompromising opposition to the measure. If, on the other hand, he had fully seen the erroneousness of his views, he would have manfully stated his conviction, retained his place, and supported the bill. The vacillation of the

course he afterwards took represented, in all probability, with fidelity and accuracy, the state of his mind on the occasion. He resigned his office, but he intimated that he was not prepared to enter into a religious warfare with his former friends. On the first reading of the bill he abstained both from voting and speaking; on the second, he had made up his mind to support it, and did so.

A still more striking indication of his change of views is to be found in his conduct with regard to the question of admitting the Jews to Parliament. When that question was brought before the House in 1841 by Mr Divett, the member for Exeter, while his volume was yet running its career of popularity, and while its principles were fresh in the mind of its author, he came forward as the leading opponent of the measure. The question then slept till 1846, when the Whig Government brought it forward, and then he gave a silent vote in its favour. On the following year he made a speech in favour of their admission, in which he frankly admitted that, in the present state of religious distractions, it was impossible to carry out his theory in practice; that, this being the case, he thought it was unjust to impose disabilities on Dissenters in aiming at that impossibility; and that the true interests of the Church must be secured in another way, by allowing the Dissenters to take their own course of development, unrestrained by civil interference of any kind, and then to claim for the Church the same amount of religious liberty and freedom from State interference. This is the policy which he has ever since conscientiously pursued, still holding to the High Church doctrines of his youth, so far as the internal and spiritual relations of the Establishment are concerned, but discouraging and opposing every attempt on the part of the State to impose restrictions on one denomination more than another. With religion, indeed, he holds that the State, in her

present condition of mingled Churchmen and Dissenters, is incompetent to deal; and that the best service the secular power can render the spiritual is to let it alone.

But Mr Gladstone's changes in opinion did not meet the concurrence of his early political patron, the Duke of Newcastle. Under the influence of that nobleman he had held his seat for Newark from his first entrance into political life—by the same influence he was now to lose it. When, at the close of 1845, Sir Robert Peel announced his resolution to repeal the Corn Laws, Lord Stanley, the present Earl of Derby, resigned his office as Secretary of State for the Colonies, the appointment was conferred on Mr Gladstone, who had long before this time become identified again in feeling and in interest with Sir Robert Peel, though he remained out of office till now. On accepting office he was obliged to go back to his constituents, or rather to the Duke of Newcastle, who was bitterly opposed to the repeal. He refused his sanction to the minister's re-election, and in consequence, Mr Gladstone, being unable to find another seat, was reluctantly compelled to remain an inactive spectator of the greatest and most exciting Parliamentary struggle that has occurred since the times of the Reform Bill. The Peel ministry expired with the completion of its noblest monument, the repeal of the Corn Laws. Mr Gladstone, of course, went out of office with them; but at the general election in 1847, his loss of the seat for Newark was much more than compensated by his election for the University of Oxford—a seat which has at all times been the eagerly coveted distinction of some of our most eminent statesmen, and which had a peculiar value to a mind formed in the mould of Mr Gladstone. He accepted the trust, however, without agreeing to compromise his own peculiar views, and it was soon after his election that he took the bold step of supporting, by his speech as well as by his vote, the admission of the Jews to Parliament; and in which he alluded, with feel-

ing, but, at the same time, with manly independence, to a petition which had been presented on the same evening by his colleague, Sir Robert H. Inglis, from a majority of his constituents, praying that the measure might not pass. Equally decided was the stand he took in 1851 on the question of the Papal Aggression. True to the principles he had formerly announced—that all sects ought to have full liberty of propagating their own opinions—and forgetting, perhaps, the important qualification, that no sect ought to use that liberty for the purpose of injuring, or even insulting, its neighbours, he resisted the Ecclesiastical Titles Act of the ministry in an elaborate and eloquent argument. In the meantime, one vote he gave about this time was supposed to indicate some vacillation on the subject of free trade, though we believe without any reason. Mr D'Israeli had, in the course of the former year, brought forward his annual motion for the relief of the agricultural interest from the burdens under which they laboured. Such motions were generally understood by the Free Trade party as covert attempts to restore protection. But at that particular season the landed interest was peculiarly depressed; and Mr Gladstone, at all times little apt to be moved by what may be called the hack arguments of party—ever ready to look at questions from that point of view which commended itself the most to his individual judgment—gave his vote in favour of an inquiry into the causes of their distress. From this vote hopes were entertained that he might be induced to join a Protectionist ministry; and when the Earl of Derby attempted to form a ministry during the brief interregnum of 1851, his first application for assistance was to Mr Gladstone; but that gentleman soon convinced the world how erroneously they had judged, in inferring from one vote that he was about to belie the matured convictions of his mind. To the application he returned a brief and decided negative; and his refusal was one

of the main causes of Lord Derby's failing at that time to form an administration.

When, a year afterwards, Lord Derby accepted office, and formed his government, Mr Gladstone placed himself in decided opposition. It was from his hand that they received the most effective check during the whole period of their brief term of office, when they proposed a re-distribution of the seats in Parliament rendered vacant by the disfranchisement of Sudbury and St Alban's—a motion which, at the instance of Mr Gladstone, was rejected by a large majority; and, at the closing struggle of that government, when Mr D'Israeli had spoken from ten o'clock in the evening till two in the morning, thinking by that protracted argument to secure for himself the last word, his purpose was foiled by Mr Gladstone, who, rising as he sat down, spoke for two hours more, in language as brilliant, in satire as pungent, and in argument more compact, than his own—thus securing to the Liberal cause the *prestige* of eloquence as well as of numbers. His services during the Derby administration, if taken alone, would well entitle him to the honourable position he now holds.

These exertions were not made without a corresponding sacrifice of former friendships and alliances. His election for the University of Oxford, which he cherished so highly, was seriously threatened at the general election of 1852, and the opposition was the more serious, as a resident of the University, Dr Masham, was selected as the rival candidate. Great exertions were made to secure his defeat, but his friends were still more strenuous in his favour, and the close of the poll gave him a majority of nearly four hundred votes over his opponent. In the present year, when a new election was rendered necessary in consequence of his acceptance of office, a fresh attempt was made to unseat him for the University, and a new candidate was brought forward, in the son of the late Mr Spencer Perceval, the

prime minister of George III; but though there was more apathy, on the part of Mr Gladstone's friends, on this than on the last occasion, and more activity on the part of his opponents, still the good sense and right feeling of the University triumphed, and Mr Gladstone was returned by a majority of more than a hundred votes.

We have reserved for the close of this sketch, because we would not break in upon the continuity of his career in domestic politics, some account of his dealings in foreign affairs, which are more honourable to his name than almost any other matter we have narrated, and which have in fact conferred upon him a world-wide celebrity. In the debate on Lord Palmerston's foreign policy in 1850, Mr Gladstone took part and voted with his friends against the then Foreign Secretary, on the broad ground that English statesmen ought not to interfere with the affairs of foreign countries. Little could he foresee at the time how soon his own conduct—his own feelings of humanity—would practically give the lie to this broad and sweeping assertion. In the autumn of that year he went abroad for his health, and was led to Naples. This was about two years and a half after the revolution which had taken place in that country, of which, by that time, all outward trace was swept away, and the country was, throughout its length and breadth, tranquil. Some of the individuals charged with resistance to the royal authority were at that time put upon their trial. Mr Gladstone, fresh from the non-interference debate, and strong in his Conservative leanings, was yet induced from curiosity to attend the trial of a M. Poerio, who had been a member of the ministry during the brief period when the Neapolitan monarch professed to be a friend to the constitutional cause. What he witnessed on the occasion of that trial shocked every moral sense, and roused the whole generous nature of the man within him. He saw a mere mockery of jus-

tice carried on—the most ordinary favours to the prisoner refused—no cross-examination allowed—evidence admitted as good which, even in the single examination tolerated, was glaringly self-contradictory—and evidence for the defence either refused altogether, or distorted in a way that Mr Gladstone could not before have conceived possible. The prisoner was found guilty, and sentenced to an imprisonment of some years. Mr Gladstone, after some delay, obtained leave to visit him in his prison, and he found the insults and indignities heaped upon him were almost beyond belief. He was led to inquire, and he found that the shameless cruelty and crying injustice practised in this one case were but specimens of what was going on every day and every hour on a gigantic scale throughout the kingdom of Naples. By evidence the most conclusive—by names, dates, and places, he was led to the startling conclusion that about thirty thousand political prisoners were at that moment suffering such imprisonment, and that nearly the whole body of the Opposition in the late Representative Chamber of Naples were either in prison or in exile. Mr Gladstone heard all this, and his resolve was instantly taken. At all hazards—at the hazard even of being charged with a practical violation of his own doctrines, he vowed to induce the government of Naples to meliorate the condition of these unfortunate people, or he would make all Europe, and especially his own country, ring with the story of their sufferings and wrongs. And he kept his word. He addressed a letter to his friend and former colleague, Lord Aberdeen, whom he knew to have some influence at the Neapolitan court, detailing the wrongs of the unfortunate prisoners, and the horrible discoveries he had made. The letter was in the first instance addressed to his Lordship privately, with a request that he would endeavour in his personal and private capacity to obtain some mitigation in the condition of the poor prisoners; but he intimated that if no

redress were afforded within a reasonable time, it was his intention to publish the letter. There is no reason to doubt that Lord Aberdeen did so use his personal influence, but no redress was obtained, and in July 1851, Mr Gladstone published the letter. Its sale was enormous, and the atrocities it revealed produced a profound sensation on the public mind. Its celebrity was increased by the fact that Lord Palmerston, as Foreign Secretary, addressed a copy of the pamphlet to every one of our ministers residing at foreign courts—thus appealing, as it were, to the great family of nations against the cruelties practised on our common humanity by one member of that family. It is with a blush we write that a Scotsman, a Mr Macfarlane, was the only person that could be found to justify or even to palliate the conduct of the Neapolitan government, which characteristically testified its gratitude to its advocate by publishing an official defence, as if ashamed of the blundering folly with which he had advocated the cause. Mr Gladstone replied in a second pamphlet, and not only adduced additional facts to justify his former statements, but carried the matter farther by shewing that it was not the King of Naples alone that was responsible for these enormities, but that they might be traced home to the machinations of the Jesuits, who, he shewed, had established themselves all over the country—were potent at court, and had gained uncontrolled sway over all the establishments for education in Naples. To this no reply has been attempted, and Mr Gladstone enjoys the satisfaction of feeling that if he has not released these unfortunate men from the horrors of the dungeon, at least he has been the means of producing an appeal and a protest against the system and its abettors from the heart of all civilised nations.

Mr Gladstone is now in his forty-sixth year, and may consequently be said to be in the prime of life,

and in full possession of his capacious intellect. His future career furnishes abundant room for speculation, not unmixed with anxiety. It may be assumed that he has fairly outgrown those confined notions of political principle with which he commenced his chequered career: his mind has firmly grasped and fully comprehended the liberal tendencies of the age. But it is impossible not to see that politics have ever been subordinate in his mind to theology, and on this point he has changed less than the other. He no longer seeks, indeed, to advance the Church of England, or rather his own peculiar section of that Church, at the expense of other sects: but it is by no means certain that he would not, if the choice were before him, excommunicate those who took a different view of Church doctrines from himself, and thus rend asunder the Church of England. As it is easy to see that theological questions are coming every year more prominently into view, in proportion as they occupy a larger share of the public attention, Mr Gladstone may be expected to play a conspicuous part in these transactions, and his influence on the Church of England, and by consequence on the general religious condition of the country, will in all probability be great.

We have already adverted to the characteristics of Mr Gladstone's style of speaking. It is impossible to listen to him without admiring the beauty of his language, the stately march of his measured tones, and the perfect mastery he possesses over all the resources of the language, which never allows him for a moment to be at a loss for a word. His chief defect is an occasional obscurity of meaning, arising from the subtle and penetrating intellect of the man, which seems constantly suggesting doubts and modifications of the principle he is advancing, so that there seems to be carried on at the same time throughout his speech, not only the main propositions he is concerned to prove, but in addition,

a sort of under-current of thought, which insensibly modifies its sharpness, and blunts its edge. It ought to be added, however, that his later speeches have been singularly free from this defect; he has shewn himself more of the practical statesman and less of the schoolman. As a model of eloquence he is undoubtedly, next to Macaulay, the most finished orator in the House of Commons.

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# THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

When the Reform Bill had become the Reform Act, many constituencies, both new and old, were in search of candidates. Lord Lincoln, the heir of Nottingham Castle, had that very year attained his majority; his father, the Duke of Newcastle, was respected by the tenantry, and it was considered an appropriate compliment to invite the young nobleman to stand for the southern division of the county. The request was responded to, and before the Christmas-day of 1832 he was one of the people's representatives returned to the Reformed House of Commons. Following family predilections, as much as private inclination, he attached himself to the Conservative party, then an overwhelmed minority, and had to pass through his legislative noviciate with the repressing influence of chilling, if not desponding, weakness. The non-adhesion and division in the ranks of their powerful opponents soon broke up the beclouded sky, under which efforts were futile and success hopeless, and brighter prospects for his party dawned in the political horizon. The Grey administration lapsed into the Melbourne administration without attracting any additional strength, and no surprise was felt, save by the ministers themselves, when the king suddenly resolved to dismiss his advisers, on the occasion of Lord Althorpe's removal to the Upper House. Then ensued that famous episode, in which the Duke of Wellington, rather than desert his sovereign, undertook almost the sole direction of affairs. Sir Robert Peel

hastened from Rome to relieve him of such arduous duties, and, as Prime Minister, appointed the Earl of Lincoln one of the Lords of the Treasury. This was the commencement of the noble earl's public life, and, at the same time, of his connexion with that illustrious statesman who assuredly will rank the highest in our country's annals. A dissolution followed, and Lord Lincoln was a second time returned, without opposition, to represent the southern division of the county of Nottingham. The general result, however, of the appeal to the country, though very favourable, and of infinite future consequence to the Conservatives, was not sufficiently conspicuous to enable them to turn the diminished but still powerful phalanx which met them at every point, beat them in division after division, and drove them from office in less than two months after Parliament re-assembled. In April 1835 we again find Lord Lincoln and his friends on the left hand of the Speaker, and Lord Melbourne, Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and lesser luminaries, on the Treasury benches. With recruited ranks, an able leader, a weak ministry, and phlegmatic electors, the conflict was renewed at more equal odds by the men who represented the landed interest, and another turn of the wheel retrieved the fortune of the game. Meanwhile, William IV. was carried to the tomb, and with a new Sovereign a new Parliament was called, and Lord Lincoln for the third time received, without challenge, the confidence of his constituents. The judicious abstinence which Sir R. Peel displayed, when in 1839 a more eager love of office would have tempted him to seize the prize, consolidated the bonds of party, which he had been so earnestly and yet carefully preparing, and contributed in no small degree to the crowning triumph of the general election of 1841. Figures best convey an estimate of political strength—an axiom to which all sagacious whippers-in will unreservedly subscribe—

and, therefore, we may be excused for dealing with those inflexible indices, to prove the falling off in the Whig ranks. After the election of 1832, they boasted a majority of 300; just two years later the number was reduced to 130. At the next general election, in 1837, it dwindled down to 16; and in 1841 became a minority of 76. When the Government met the new Parliament in August, it was well known that a change impended, and the country was not long kept in suspense. An amendment on the address, declaring that her Majesty's ministers did not possess the confidence of Parliament, was carried by 72 in the House of Lords, and by 91 in the House of Commons, where it was proposed by Mr Stuart Wortley, who had ousted Lord Morpeth from the representation of the West Riding. The Queen's reply intimated, that, ever anxious to listen to the advice of Parliament, her Majesty would take immediate steps for the formation of a new administration; and, on the same evening, Lord Melbourne and Lord J. Russell formally announced their resignation. Sir R. Peel succeeded to power with more *eclât* than had attended any premier for many years; he was the acknowledged chief of a united party; he was the elected protector of the landed interest; he was known to have flung away some ancient prejudices, and to have freed himself from the unbending yoke of Toryism; he was, in fact, the personification of a Liberal-Conservative, although that term is of more recent origin. In the conduct of State business he drew to his aid the great abilities of Lord Aberdeen, Lord Stanley, and Sir James Graham, and was well supported by the cheerful and ready service of all subordinate officers. He formed an administration, which, like the best machinery, worked well and smoothly in every part. There was no jarring or jolting. Every one fell into his proper place; and all esteemed it a happiness to follow a statesman who inspired unbounded

confidence and imperceptibly exercised a leader's control. In the distribution of offices the Earl of Lincoln received that of First Commissioner of Woods and Forests, and for the fifth time was re-elected for the southern division of the county of Nottingham. No imputations have ever been breathed against his conduct as First Commissioner; and we may safely conjecture that the duties were discharged with unobtrusive but efficient regularity. The notice of his political career on this account does not assume an individual character, but is merged in the general policy, for which, as a minister of the Crown, in common with his colleagues, he was jointly responsible. The annual deficit in the finances of the country had to be promptly met; and early in 1842 the foundations were laid of that stately edifice which has since become the sole beacon and guide for every administration to whom the task of managing the affairs of the empire has been intrusted. It seems somewhat strange that so unpopular an impost as a tax upon property and income should have been the only means capable of restoring the balance between income and expenditure. The advantage and urgent necessity of this operation, when nations are concerned, are as clear as when individuals alone are affected; and who does not admit the force of Mr Micawber's humorous philosophy, in declaring that an expenditure of £20, 0s. 6d., with an income of £20, results in misery, whilst an expenditure of £19, 19s. 6d., with the same income, induces perfect happiness? The problem which Sir R. Peel's government had to solve, was, how to convert a deficiency into a surplus; and, strange as it may seem, no means could be found less objectionable than the imposition of a tax upon property, more especially as at the time the poorer classes of the community were unable to bear even existing burdens. If the sacrifice which the middle classes were called upon to make was not consummated with unexcep-

tionable cheerfulness, there was an absence of any very alarming murmurs, and the premier was therefore placed in a position to enter upon the more agreeable duty of announcing large remissions. Then was laid the foundation-stone of the free trade policy, in the shape of the new tariff, by which, out of twelve hundred articles subject to customs' duties, seven hundred and fifty were reduced. Useless prohibitions, which may be said to be Protection in its worst and most repulsive form, were removed; the charges on raw materials were reduced to five per cent., on partially manufactured articles to twelve per cent., and on articles wholly manufactured to twenty per cent. Colonial timber was admitted free of all duty, and timber from the Baltic paid much less than before. The admission of agricultural seeds benefited the agriculturists; and the introduction of cattle, salt meat, butter, and fish, from abroad, did not so totally ruin them as their prejudiced imaginations first led them to anticipate. The great questions of sugar and corn were reserved for future discussions; and, at the close of 1842, general confidence prevailed in the progressive and active government, which had only twelve months before been installed. The history of the next four years comprises the history of the Anti-Corn-Law League, with its indefatigable champions and its unique organisation; and who can doubt that Lord Lincoln spoke with candour and sincerity when he attributed the subsequent change in his opinions to having been led to examine the facts and assertions which, year after year, were dinned into the ears of every person in the country? That the cause of free imports advanced apace, may be gathered from the divisions on Mr Villiers' annual motion to consider the corn importation duties, with a view to their immediate abolition. The majority of 303 in 1842, was a majority of 256 in 1843, a majority of 204 in 1844, and a majority of only 132 in 1845. Provoking as such a regular

diminution of numbers must have been to the Protectionist constituencies, the new tariff, the admission of Canadian wheat and flour at a shilling duty, and the agitation for free trade, which was spreading far and wide, were not at all calculated to soothe or allay their irritated feelings. Hopes of the immutability of the sliding scale might have been cherished at first by the more sanguine, but in 1844 these hopes must have been wholly dispelled by the announcement of its author—"That, as he had declared before, so would he declare still, that the Government had not contemplated, and did not now contemplate, any change in that Corn Law which was settled two years since; *but now, as before, he guarded himself against being understood to mean that he would at all times, and under all circumstances, resist change*, because that was a thing which no man ought to say on any matter of the kind." If the first part of the prime minister's declaration was intended to reassure the advocates of Protection, the latter part most effectually warned them against indulging in too confident expectations of the system being wholly unmitigated. The scheme of Sir R. Peel for adjusting the financial condition of the country was more successful than had been anticipated; and the revenue of 1843–4 yielded a surplus of more than two millions and a half, which was doubled in the following year. Instead of removing the income tax, which would have absorbed more than the entire amount, a further term of three years was proposed; and the surplus was applied, first to the increase of our naval armaments, and next to the further development of the same wise policy with which its imposition was accompanied. The duties on four hundred and thirty out of eight hundred and thirteen articles of raw materials of manufactures were entirely abolished—a change by which cotton, wool, and glass were rendered considerably cheaper, and a great impetus was given to the trade of the country. The duty on

sugar was also lowered, and that important article of consumption rendered more available to the community. By this time the eyes of the Protectionists were pretty well opened, and their minds prepared for what must inevitably follow. That they were in ill-humour with the Government, may be inferred from the tone of their self-constituted organ, Mr D'Israeli, who, in one of his bitterest speeches—and at this period none were particularly distinguished by suavity—expressed himself in these terms: —"Protection appears to be in about the same condition that Protestantism was in 1828. The country will draw its moral. For my part, if we are to have Free Trade, I, who honour genius, prefer that such measures should be proposed by the honourable member for Stockport (Mr Cobden), than by one who, through skilful parliamentary manœuvres, has tampered with the generous confidence of a great people and of a great party. For myself, I care not what may be the result. Dissolve, if you please, the Parliament you have betrayed, and appeal to the people, who, I believe, mistrust you. For me there remains this at least—the opportunity of expressing, thus publicly, my belief that a Conservative Government is an organised hypocrisy." Among other signs of the times, Lord John Russell declared he could not now recommend so high a fixed duty as eight shillings; and an opinion began to prevail that the Whigs were ready to carry to its furthest extent the policy which Sir Robert Peel had initiated. The failure of the potato crop hastened the crisis, and before the close of the year 1845, the prime minister saw it was no longer possible to tax the people's food. Less prescient colleagues denied the premises, resisted all arguments, and threw up their offices; but of this number Lord Lincoln was not one. He had long determined never again to return to Parliament pledged to support a system which he believed to be "unwise, unjust, and impolitic;" and, amongst the many devoted adherents

whom it was Sir Robert Peel's privilege to attach to his opinions and his person, none outshone the Earl of Lincoln in his conscientious concurrence with the one, and his warm admiration of the other. Negotiations with Lord John Russell failed, and the Peel Cabinet was reconstructed. In the consequent arrangements, Lord Lincoln accepted the post of Chief Secretary for Ireland; and had again to ask the renewal of that confidence which had, on five previous occasions, been readily awarded to him. But the times were changed; the South Nottinghamshire Protection Society had, before his recent appointment, requested him to resign; and his father, the Duke of Newcastle, addressed a letter to the inhabitants of that portion of the county, charging his son with being the victim of bad counsel, and characterising Free Trade as a vicious and revolutionary system, embodying ruinous and fatal doctrines, which the country deprecated with indignant hostility. Lord Lincoln manfully resisted the appeal of his father to withdraw from the contest, and issued an address explanatory of his conduct, in which he said:—

"I cannot, within the limits of an address, enter into the details of so large and comprehensive a scheme of commercial policy as that lately laid before the House of Commons. This much, however, I am bound in candour, when addressing an agricultural constituency, to say—that on the question of the Corn Laws my opinions are changed. In 1841, honestly, and not from any party motive, I advocated measures for what is now called 'Protection of native industry.' Mature reflection—constant and anxious consideration of the subject—attention, year after year, to the arguments brought forward in the House, on one side and on the other—above all, the experience of the last four years—have convinced me, not that the Corn Laws alone should be abolished, but that our whole commercial system

should be subjected to a great, a bold, and a comprehensive revision.

"This change of opinion has not come suddenly upon me. Three years ago, my confidence in the principles of protection was greatly shaken; last year, I felt that they had become indefensible. Still, looking to the mischief of any violent shock to party attachment (not for the sake of the leaders of party, but for the sake of public confidence), and conscious of the peculiar circumstances under which the present Parliament was elected, I felt anxious that, if possible, this great but inevitable change should be postponed till after the next dissolution of Parliament. This, however, I had finally resolved—that I would never again appear before you on the hustings without an express stipulation that I should be free to vote for the repeal of the Corn Laws.

"But in the autumn of last year it pleased Providence to visit our country, and more especially the sister island, with an infliction which some have ventured to doubt—nay, even to deride—but the alarming extent of which, I greatly fear, has yet to be unfolded. Thus, the desires of politicians have been frustrated, the calculations of statesmen have been thwarted. What would have been praiseworthy caution and deference to existing circumstances in times of abundance and prosperity, would now be culpable neglect, or a slavish submission to the fear of reproach and personal odium.

"The Government has been compelled by an imperative sense of duty to bring forward at once a final settlement of these questions; for none but a final settlement—no half measures, no temporising expedients—could ever again be entertained; and I am prepared to adopt my full share of the responsibility which must attach to the members of a Government which has endeavoured to reconcile, in a great and comprehensive scheme, the various but not conflicting interests of the country."

It was a trying position for the noble earl, when, having for fourteen years retained the confidence of the constituency, he had to meet an opponent supported by all the influence of his own family and all the exertions of the landed gentry of the neighbourhood. But he did not shrink from the trial. Indefatigable were the efforts he made to convince the electors of the policy of the change in his opinions;—his sincerity was never doubted. Day after day he attended meetings in different places; every nerve was strained to turn the wavering and to convince the headstrong; but all to no purpose. The nomination came, and a brief triumph attended him on the show of hands at Newark. The polling followed, and the result was his defeat by a majority of nearly seven hundred, the numbers being:—

| | |
|---|---|
| T. B. T. Hildyard, . . . | 1736 |
| Lord Lincoln, . . . . | 1049 |

Thus, in February 1846, his connexion with the county of Nottingham was severed, to the great joy of the Protectionists and to the poignant regret of the noble lord. In the May following, Mr Baird, the member for the Falkirk burghs, where the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon possessed great influence, accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, and Lord Lincoln was elected to fill the vacant seat, though not without a contest. At the close of the poll the numbers stood thus:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Lord Lincoln, . . . . | 506 |
| Mr Wilson (Liberal), . . . | 495 |

At the general election in 1847, he was again successful over a new opponent, when the poll was declared to be:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Lord Lincoln, . . . . | 522 |
| W. S. Boyd (Liberal), . . . | 491 |

It is not necessary here to repeat an account of the political events which intervened, and which led to the installation of the Whig ministry, headed by Lord John Russell. During the time that Lord Lincoln remained

in the House of Commons, he voted with the Peel party on all important occasions; and in January 1851, by the death of his father, he succeeded to the Dukedom of Newcastle, and took his seat in the House of Lords. He followed Lord Aberdeen in his opposition to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, founded on a belief that it was inconsistent with a love of civil and religious liberty; and upon the present premier accepting office, he undertook the task, in which he is now engaged, of directing the Colonial Department of the Government, over which he presides as Secretary of State. His grace was born on the 22d May 1811, and is consequently thirty-two years of age. He married, in 1832, Lady Susan Hamilton, the only daughter of the Duke of Hamilton, by whom he had two sons. The Duke of Newcastle is personally rather above the middle height, with fine and intellectual features, and a commanding presence. He possesses, besides, great suavity of manner, and is listened to with attention and respect whenever he addresses the House with that fluency of language for which the most prominent followers of Sir Robert Peel are, almost without exception, remarkable.

# THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

It cannot be doubted that the duties a Lord Chancellor is now called upon to fulfil are infinitely more onerous than those which he was called upon to fulfil even a few years ago. The great question of law reform, embracing as it does so many particular topics, has now become, for the first time in the history of our annals, a popular cry, and administrations and public men rest their claims to the support of the country at large upon their merits as sound, efficient, and practical law reformers. In former times, and, in fact, up to a very recent period, the Lord Chancellor was so much overworked as a judge and as a minister of state, that he could hardly pay that systematic attention to questions of law reform which his high position as the head of the profession imperatively demanded. An important change in this respect has been effected by the establishment of the Court of Appeal in Chancery, which has relieved the Chancellor from a great proportion of his judicial duties, and has consequently given him time to exercise that control over the legal legislation of the country which is so necessary for the welfare of the community at large. Recurring to the experience of the last few years, it is wonderful that Lord Eldon, Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Brougham, and Lord Cottenham, were able in any way satisfactorily to discharge the demands that were made on their time. They not only had to attend the House of Lords as its speaker and as a judge in the last resort, but they had to sit in the Court of Chancery to hear appeals; and, in

addition to these duties, which might well over-tax the industry and energy of any individual, they had to act as minister of state, to attend cabinet councils, to preside in the judicial committee of the privy council, to regulate the magistracy of the country, to bestow livings (an incident of the office which they hold as the keeper of the royal conscience), and to give such passing attention as these exactions on their time would permit to the preparation and framing of acts of Parliament affecting the legal institutions of the country. By the establishment of the Court of Appeal in Chancery, the Chancellor has now time to devote to his duties as a minister of state and as the presiding judge of the House of Lords; and consequently it rests in a great measure with his own volition whether he acts as a minister of justice in preparing those systematic amendments of our laws which are so necessary to meet the ever-varying requirements of a great commercial country, or whether he is only content to "mark time" in that inevitable progress which even his inclination to disregard can in no way retard. The present Chancellor has taken advantage of the comparative leisure which recent changes have afforded, to announce that he recognises the obligation of acting as a minister of justice, and to some extent he has already acted upon this principle. He has adopted the scheme prepared by the Solicitor-General for the consolidation of all enacted law, he has re-introduced a measure on the subject of the registration assurances, and has promised another measure on the subject of charitable trusts. His lordship, however, in reference to those three questions, has not exhibited either remarkable courage or the slightest novelty of treatment. Thankful as we are that, now in the fulness of time, we are likely to have a digest of our statute law, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that a great scheme for that purpose was sketched out by the master hand of Lord Bacon, and

that various intermittent attempts have been made, up to the present moment, to accomplish an object in every way so desirable. The Registration Bill of the present Lord Chancellor is merely a renewal of the measure proposed three times by Lord Campbell, with the provision as to maps omitted, and, with its present complicated and cumbrous machinery, it has scarcely a chance of ever becoming law. The measure, with respect to charitable trusts, is only a renewal of the bill introduced last session by Sir F. Thesiger, and therefore the Lord Chancellor can take no merit for originality in that respect. Besides, he has the additional disadvantage of succeeding Lord St Leonard's, one of the greatest Chancellors that ever adorned the judicial bench, who, stigmatised as he was upon his assumption of office, as an impracticable law reformer, had the rare merit, during his Chancellorship, of thoroughly purging the Court of Chancery from its multitudinous and immemorial abuses, and of setting open its doors to the free and inexpensive access of the suitors. Lord Cranworth, however, we believe to be a sincere reformer, and, though we think that he lacks that moral courage which would place him in the first rank of law reformers, he has a fair field before him, and we shall wait to see when he initiates some measure of his own (for the reform of the ecclesiastical courts, or the amendment of the law of partnership, for example), before we agree with Lord Brougham that his lordship is only "marking time" in the progress of legal amendment.

Lord Cranworth, in his career, furnishes another instance that the highest prizes in the profession of the law may be won without either very profound learning or brilliant abilities. Born in 1790, he received his education at the grammar school of Bury St Edmunds, of which town he was afterwards Recorder. His lordship went to Cambridge, and took his degree in 1812, his name appearing sixteenth in the list of wranglers

for that year. He was called to the bar by the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn, on the 21st of May 1816. In May 1835, on the retirement of Sir R. Peel's administration, he came into office as Solicitor-General, his immediate predecessor being the late Sir W. Follett. It is well known that another learned gentleman was recommended for the office by the late Lord Holland, but chiefly through the influence of the then Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr S. Rice) his lordship received the appointment of Solicitor-General. The manner in which he discharged his duties may be inferred from the compliment paid to him by the head of the administration, Viscount Melbourne, viz., that he (Sir R. N. Rolfe) was the best law officer of the Crown "that he had ever had occasion to do business with." In 1839 he received the appointment of a baron of the Exchequer, an office which he continued to discharge with the utmost satisfaction to the profession and the public, until he was appointed a Vice-Chancellor, upon the retirement, from ill health, of Sir James Wigram. His lordship displayed upon the bench, as a common law judge, a technical knowledge, and an amount of ability, which were quite surprising in one, the early years of whose professional life had been passed as an equity draughtsman and conveyancer. He presided at the trial of the murderer Rush; and it is not too much to say, that—although his lordship's early predilections were gratified by returning to the Court of Chancery—by his removal to that court, the public lost the services of an able, impartial, upright, and eminently discreet common law judge. As a Vice-Chancellor, his lordship was slow; though in winding up cases he imported to Chancery many of the wiser and more common sense views which our law courts had taken on the subject of the liability of partners in embryo, and insolvent joint stock companies. His lordship was subsequently appointed one of the Lords Justices of the Court of Appeal

in Chancery, and, a few months ago, upon the resignation of Lord St Leonard's, he received the Great Seal; having been previously created a peer of Parliament on the 28th of December 1850, when he was appointed Vice-Chancellor.

His lordship, although he was a member of the House of Commons for some years, was never distinguished as a debater. His style is too colloquial and querulous to be dignified; and since he has been a member of the Upper House he has seldom spoken on any subjects but those affecting the amendment of the law. As a specimen of his style, we may give the following extract from his speech in moving the second reading of the Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill:—"To two or three of the most prominent of these grievances he would now direct their attention. In the first place, there was that strangest of anomalies that passed under the name of heriot. This was a custom which existed in very many manors, though it was not universal, and was not even confined to lands held by copyhold tenure. By it, on the death of a person holding land subject to the custom, the lord might seize the best chattel of which the tenant died possessed—in some manors the best live chattel, but in others there was no such restriction—in some cases it must be seized on the land, but in others it might be seized anywhere. Now, if that were stated to be a law existing in Madagascar, would they believe that such a thing could possibly exist where any law prevailed at all? He did not mean to say that practically it was any great grievance, for the feelings of men were such that no one who seriously attempted to enforce such a right would get any concurrence, and the lords were therefore frequently obliged to waive the right. Such, however, was the state of the law, and it was a blot on our judicial system that it should be so. He remembered that, when he was a young man, the famous horse Smolensko, worth £2000 or £3000, was

seized in the hands of the late Sir Charles Bunbury; and a similar case occurred on the death of the late Sir Gilbert Heathcote. About thirty years ago, when the late Lord Abinger, then Mr Scarlett, was on circuit, a rumour of his death was spread, and the first intimation that Mrs Scarlett received of the supposed melancholy event, before the report turned out to be a mere invention, was that the agent of the lord of the manor seized some of Mr Scarlett's horses. Since he entered the house that evening he had been told, and he believed it was true, that the Pitt Diamond was at one time pledged to a pawnbroker who had a small copyhold tenement in Westmoreland liable to heriot, and on his death the lord of that copyhold manor either did seize, or intimated to the parties that he had a right to seize, this diamond; but he believed that he was a man of too much probity of feeling to do so, and gave up that to which he had perhaps a right. Another curious illustration of the absurdity of this law was exhibited in what had occurred to the late Sir R. Peel, who, being the tenant of a manor to which heriot attached, was in the greatest apprehension that, if anything happened to him, his celebrated picture the *Chapeau de Paille* might be seized; and, in order to free himself from that risk, he bought the manor of which the copyhold was held."

At the commencement of the present session, his lordship thus expressed himself in reference to the duties of the Lord Chancellor:—

"When I first became connected with the profession of the law, my lords, now more than thirty-five years ago, that subject was one which certainly, without the walls of Parliament, and to a great extent, I may also say, within these walls, received scarcely any attention, and which did not excite any public interest. Mr Jeremy Bentham, indeed, in his amusing, epigrammatic, and very well reasoned essays, strove to awaken public attention to the importance of the question. In the

other House of Parliament, also, an individual whose name, long connected with this subject, can never be mentioned but with respect, I mean Sir Samuel Romilly, along with my noble and learned friend who formerly filled the woolsack, but who is not now present—Lord Brougham—from time to time brought this important subject under consideration. I need not say, my lords, how different is the state of things at the present day. This subject now, so far from failing to arrest public attention, may fairly be said to be one which, putting more exciting topics aside, engrosses more than any other the thoughts and attention of a large mass of the community. All people, indeed, desire to have the laws put upon such a footing that our rights shall be clearly and well defined, and that the mode of enforcing them shall be rendered as simple, as cheap, and as expeditious as the ingenuity of those who direct their attention to the subject can make them.

"Turning back my recollection again to the period when I first became at all acquainted with the law, I think I may say, that the distinguished lawyer who then filled the woolsack, Lord Eldon, as well as the distinguished men who preceded him, scarcely seem to have considered that the introducing and maturing measures of legal reform constituted any very distinct or essential branch of the duties which devolved upon them. Practically, at least, they so conducted themselves as if they had no such duties. Very few measures on the subject originated with them, and it was rather thought to be their duty to watch against the introduction of hasty and ill-considered measures by others, than to introduce any on the part of the servants of the crown. That state of things, however, has been very materially altered in modern times; and no one filling the office I have now the honour of occupying, can fail to feel, that to him the country looks, if not for the introduc measures of reform, at least for a general superv

the whole legal system; to introduce measures where new measures may be necessary; to resist proposals which the Government may think ill-conceived;—in short, to exercise a general control over the legal condition of the country, in order to keep it in the most satisfactory state which the nature of things will permit."

We may add, that his lordship is distinguished by the most uniform amenity and courtesy to the bar. From his practical experience, both as a common law and an equity judge, he has had ampler opportunities, perhaps, than any man living to advance the cause of substantial and efficient law reform. Will he avail himself of this advantage? is a question which the future historian will have to decide. The great question of the fusion of law and equity is one which, at no distant time, must occupy the attention of the legislature, and his lordship is eminently qualified to pronounce an authoritative opinion on the subject. Will he have the boldness to unfetter himself from the trammels of education and profession; or will he take his stand *super vias antiquas?* If he elect the latter alternative, he will be left behind in the opinion of the country, which justly insists that every court should be made competent to do ample and complete justice in every case brought before it, without sending the suitor from court to court, to incur ruinous expenses, and "the hopes deferred that make the heart sick." Having elevated himself to his present high position by ability and honest industry, he has only to consolidate his reputation, by rivalling (for exceeding is impossible) his great predecessor, who, like himself, sprung from the ranks of the people, has reformed that tribunal of which he is the chief ornament—has made justice cheap—and made equity a reality in something more than name.

# SIR WILLIAM MOLESWORTH.

Sir William Molesworth's appointment to the Chief Commissionership of Public Works, with a seat in the cabinet, was one of the pledges of his Liberal tendencies which the Earl of Aberdeen gave to the friends of progressive reform. A country gentleman of ancient family and large territorial possessions, during the whole of his public career, now ranging over a period exceeding twenty years, the right honourable baronet has devoted his time, his abilities, and his fortune, to the development of the institutions and the physical and moral resources of a free people. For the attainment of this object, he has pursued a course of undeviating consistency, rectitude, and independence—qualities the possession of which his most zealous political opponents will not deny to him. His motives are, indeed, universally acknowledged to be honest and unimpeachable; and, perhaps, in the midst of an assembly where the current of party feeling runs strong, there is scarcely a man who has exhibited less of the "spirit of party." Factious moves on the political chess-board have never received encouragement from him. Placed by an ample fortune above the temptations against which so few public men are proof, the principles which are his rule of action have always exercised a preponderating influence over his mind; and at no time has he sacrificed consistency for the sake of promoting the ends of a party. Still he is by no means an impracticable man; on the contrary, he has uniformly shewn that he understands the

emergency, when it is wiser to accept an instalment of a measure of justice than insist on a concession of the whole. As, on the one hand, the oft-repeated plea that this or that course of policy was calculated to embarrass his friends when in power, has not deterred him from propounding his views in the legislature on what he might deem the opportune occasion—so, on the other hand, he has carefully abstained from needlessly obtruding those views when his adversaries chanced to guide the council of the State. "Measures *and* men," if possible—that failing, "Measures, *not* men"—has been his motto; and we see no fairer ground of hope on the part of reformers, in the ministry of Lord Aberdeen, than the introduction of Sir W. Molesworth to its ranks.

The right honourable baronet is the eldest son of the late Sir Arscott Ourry Molesworth of Pencarrow, Cornwall, by the daughter of Patrick Brown, Esq., of Edinburgh, and was born in the year 1810, consequently he is now in the forty-third year of his age. His wife, to whom he was married in 1844, was the widow of the late Temple West, Esq. of Mathon Lodge, Worcestershire. The great bulk of his property lies in Cornwall, and comprises some of the most fertile lands in the course of the picturesque river Camel. He is also possessed of considerable estates in Devonshire, and in the metropolitan borough of Southwark, which place he represents in Parliament, a large amount of valuable house property is erected on land belonging to him.

Sir William entered upon the arena of politics at a very early age. He had scarcely attained his majority when the agitation for Reform was at its height, and to the ultimate success of that measure he contributed materially in his own sphere and locality. His services in the good cause were not overlooked by his friends and neighbours, and at the first election after the passing of the Reform Act, he was chosen, in conjunction with Sir William Trelawney, member for the eastern division of

Cornwall, without opposition. In this new field for the exercise of his energies and talents, it was not long before he distinguished himself as one of the little band of "philosophical Radicals," composed of the late James Mill, Mr Grote, Mr Roebuck, Mr Charles Buller, Mr Leader, and others, whose names are familiar to the public. From this period to 1837 he continued to represent his native county in Parliament, and his name is to be found prominently associated with the attempts of this advanced section of the Liberal party to force the Whig Government onward in the path of Reform, to which, in their estimation, the great measure of 1832 was but the initiative step. Amongst the more important of the measures advocated by these gentlemen were several which, to this day, are the chief items in the programme of unsatisfied demands of the Radical Reformers—Vote by Ballot, Triennial Parliaments, Abolition of the Property Qualification for Members of the House of Commons, a Farther Extension of the Electoral Franchise, Reform of the House of Lords, Free Trade, Retrenchment, Separation of Church and State, Municipal Corporation Reform, Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge, and a sweeping Reform in the Administration of the Colonies. The opinions of the "philosophical Radicals" on all these questions had an able exponent in the *London Review*, a newly-established quarterly, the first number of which appeared in May 1835, under the editorship in chief of Sir William Molesworth, who was also the principal proprietor. A year afterwards, the *Westminster* came into possession of the same proprietary by purchase, and from that time the two Reviews were merged into one, with the title of the *London and Westminster*, and under that title were published for several years, until, upon the secession of the right honourable baronet, the old title of *Westminster* was resumed. The contributions of the right honourable baronet to this department of periodical literature were numerous, a

characterised by great vigour of thought, breadth of liberality, and lucidity and terseness of expression. The articles from his pen on the Orange Conspiracy and the Policy of the Radical Party in Parliament, may be cited specially as examples exhibiting these features in a marked degree.

Of the vote by ballot Sir William Molesworth has ever been an ardent supporter; and we well remember the earnestness with which, at the eventful election for South Devon in 1835, which ended in the ignominious defeat of Lord John Russell, he urged upon that noble lord the necessity of adopting that method of taking the poll at elections. "If," said he, "you lose this election, my lord, you will lose it simply by the means of intimidation; for the majority of the electors are undoubtedly in your favour, but they dare not, nor can they be expected, even for conscience' sake, to incur utter destruction and ruin. If you gain your election, you will gain it with difficulty, by the self-sacrifice of many, and some of your truest and most undaunted supporters will rue the day of your return, for they will suffer, as has been the case in other counties, through the anger, the ill-will, and the revenge of their infuriated landlords. These considerations deserve your most earnest attention, in order to apply the fitting remedy to these enormous evils. . . . . The only remedy is secret suffrage. Now, my lord, bear these considerations in your mind. Remember this contest. Remember the electors of Devon, and the evil which they will endure, when you will have hereafter to give your vote on this subject—when you will have to say aye or no to the ballot."

On the 1st of June 1835, a motion in favour of the vote by ballot was formally introduced to the House of Commons by Mr Grote, one of the members for London, and seconded in a speech of admirable ability by Sir W. Molesworth. Reminding the Whigs of the signal discomfitures which their friends had sustained in most

of the English counties at the previous elections, the right honourable baronet concluded his speech in these terms:—"They have themselves proclaimed to the people of the United Kingdom the causes of their defeat in the address of their own Reform Association. They there told the people that their defeat was not caused by any change or reaction in public opinion, but by various means either out of the reach or repugnant to the principles of Reformers, by the unprecedented canvass by a large body of the clergy, by bribery and intimidation, by the corrupting influence of close corporations, by the unscrupulous perversion by Tory authorities, for party purposes, of powers confided to them for the maintenance of order and the ends of justice. These are their own words, and by them they are now called upon to abide. Do they require stronger arguments in favour of the ballot than these? Is this list not a sufficient proof to them of the absolute necessity of the ballot? Do they prefer to be utterly annihilated as a party in that house rather than have the ballot? If so, their fate is nigh at hand, and they will merit it." The closing words of this speech were almost prophetic of the fate of the then Whig Government. Their majorities gradually dwindled away from session to session as vacancies in the House of Commons occurred; and that they were enabled to hold office six years longer, when they were driven from power and succeeded by the ministry of Sir Robert Peel, from whose accession the policy of the country dates a new era, was owing more to a combination of fortuitous circumstances, over which they themselves had no influence, than to the popularity of their administration either in or out of Parliament.

In the debates on the Municipal Reform Bill, Sir William Molesworth took an active and a leading part. A sharp controversy having arisen between the two Houses upon the amendments introduced by the House

of Lords in that measure, and Lord Ebrington (now Earl Fortescue) having observed in the course of one of the discussions in the Commons upon the subject, that he was persuaded the veneration which belonged to the House of Lords, in the eyes of the people, would not continue, unless the people found that the principles of that House worked practically better for good government, Sir William rose and thus delivered his sentiments:—"A few years ago an open expression of opinions such as these, regarding the House of Lords, would have created the greatest astonishment; but now the general question asked is—What is the use of the House of Lords? What has brought about this state of things but the conduct of the Lords themselves? It was owing to their conduct in regard to the Reform Bill, to the Municipal Reform Bill, and to the Irish Church Bill, that the change came in regard to them in the opinions of the people; and he would say, that if they should shew the same feeling in regard to a few more measures brought forward for the good of the country, the people would begin to see that they could not be reformed in any manner save by being dissolved." The utterance of these sentiments in the legislative chamber itself was followed by a pungent article from the pen of the right honourable baronet, on the same subject, in the pages of the *London Review*.

In February 1836 Sir William seconded the motion of Mr Hume for the suppression of the Orange Lodges, an object in the accomplishment of which he was active alike in the use of tongue and pen. He boldly asserted the doctrine that all who had attended Orange Lodges were liable to be transported, and that the offence was such that even peers might, under statute law, be tried before a common jury. "Let, therefore," he continued, "the law officers of the crown present to the grand jury of Middlesex bills of indictment against the Imperial Grand Master. the Duke of Cumberland,

against the Grand Master of England, Lord Kenyon, against the Grand Secretary, Lord Chandos, and to those worthies let them not forget to add the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas Lord Bishop of Salisbury. Sir, these statutes, which were the creations of the sworn enemies of the people, may now, as it were, by a retribution of divine providence, become the means of crushing this institution, of destroying this *imperium in imperio*, and of laying prostrate its chief. At his fate none but his followers will mourn. A few years' residence on the shores of the southern ocean will teach him and other titled criminals that the laws of their country are not to be violated with impunity, and that equal justice is now to be administered to the high and the low."

Another question to which the attention of the right honourable baronet was incidentally directed was that of military reform; and in the course of the same session he proposed a motion in the House of Commons respecting the privileges enjoyed by the regiments of foot guards over the regiments of the line in pay and other matters, with the view of placing them on an equality. He was of course opposed by the Government of the day, and by gentlemen on both sides the House connected with the military profession. In the end his motion was rejected by a very large majority. Subsequently, for the purpose of bringing before the notice of the House the irresponsibility of the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Hill, he moved for a committee to inquire into the appointment of Lord Brudenell to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 11th Dragoons; upon which, however, he was again unsuccessful.

Popular as was the parliamentary conduct of Sir William Molesworth with the mass of his constituents, the liberality of his principles and his unswerving and persevering advocacy of them alarmed the Whig gentry

of Cornwall, who were his original supporters; and his spoken and written opinions upon the necessity of a reform of the House of Lords—which branch of the legislature he would have deprived of the absolute veto —were put forward as the alleged grounds upon which they at length based their complete alienation from him. But he chose the honourable course of retaining his principles, and adhering to his convictions, rather than purchase his seat by their sacrifice to the dicta of timid partisans, who, instead of the independent representative of a great English constituency, would have reduced him to the humiliating position of their delegate and nominee. On the occurrence of the general election in 1837, therefore, he took a graceful leave of the constituency of Cornwall, and from that period until the accession of Sir Robert Peel's ministry in 1841, sat in the House of Commons as member for Leeds. During the debates which ensued upon the policy of the Government in reference to the Canadas, in successive years from 1837, the right honourable baronet warmly backed the efforts of Mr Hume and Mr Roebuck, to obtain for the colonists the advantage of self-government. In 1838, he seconded Mr Charles Villiers's annual motion for a repeal of the Corn Laws; and, on many subsequent occasions, occupied a foremost place in the ranks of the friends of commercial freedom. But the epoch from 1837 to 1841 was a barren one in respect of legislation of a broad and comprehensive nature. The parliamentary majority of the Whig Government stood in constant danger of being converted into a minority. They retained office, it is now believed, from the honest conviction that, feeble as their measures were, they exceeded what any other Government could then hope to effect. A powerful and an unscrupulous opposition perpetually obstructed their attempts to advance in the path of reform; whilst they delayed to throw themselves on the sympathies of the

country by pronouncing for larger measures and wider principles, until those sympathies were no longer with them, and a general election was followed by the advent of a Conservative ministry, the best this country ever possessed, and the removal of the Whigs to the opposition benches—there to learn the wisdom which accompanies the teachings of adversity. In the whole of this period, almost the only measure of importance, if we except the termination of negro apprenticeship in the colonies, which received the sanction of Parliament, was the Penny Postage system, a measure which had the ardent support of the right honourable baronet, but was conceded reluctantly by the administration, and strenuously condemned by the Tory opposition.

At the general election in 1841, Sir William Molesworth retired from Parliament and from public life for a short interval, a portion of which he occupied in continental travels, and in ushering into the world a new edition of the works of Hobbes, the "philosopher of Malmesbury." This performance, however ably executed in a literary point of view, is still of doubtful merit in the opinion of many men, on account of the peculiar sentiments upon religious questions which the work contains; and when in 1845 the right honourable baronet appeared as a candidate for the borough of Southwark, his opponents made the most of the circumstance by endeavouring to identify him with the infidelity of Hobbes, as well as with that great thinker's conclusions in favour of despotic government. They succeeded, however, but partially in damaging his popularity. His explanation of the object he had before him in editing these undoubtedly questionable writings was deemed to be satisfactory by the leading Dissenters and their ministers in Southwark. His election was chiefly by their influence rendered safe, and by the same influence he retains his seat for that borough to the present day.

To the claims of the Jews for admission to seats in Parliament the right honourable baronet has at all times been favourable; and in the debate on this question in February 1848, he supported the second reading of the bill of Lord John Russell in one of the best speeches delivered on the occasion, resting his support on these broad and well-defined grounds:—"The question before the house," he remarked, "is in fact a question between two great principles that have battled against each other since the commencement of civilisation. On the one side is the principle of religious equality; on the other, the antagonistic principle that the State is competent to determine, and ought to determine, what religion is the true religion. Now, this doctrine of the religious infallibility of the State has been, in all ages, and among all people, the plea for the crimes of intolerance and persecution. Under that plea Socrates was put to death, and the Saviour was crucified. Under that plea the pagan emperors immolated the early Christians, the Albigenses were slaughtered, and our own fires were lighted in Smithfield. Under that plea Catholics burned Protestants, Protestants burned Catholics, and Calvin kindled the faggot of Servetus with the approbation of Melancthon. Even the Pilgrim Fathers of New England were persecutors, and hanged Quakers on the gibbets of Massachusetts. Under the same plea, in modern times, we excluded Dissenters from our corporations, and Catholics from Parliament; and for the same reason Jews are now refused a seat in the British House of Commons. But religious liberty has triumphed over the rude bigotry of antiquity and the cruel persecutions of our forefathers. It will ultimately achieve a victory over the milder intolerance of honourable gentlemen opposite. The result will be peace and good-will among men of every faith who are subjects of the British empire. In ...ating on this question, let us remember that we are

not merely the representatives of the people of this small island, which is inhabited by men of one race, one language, and one religion, but we are the rulers over a mighty empire, over millions on millions of human beings, of every race, every language, and every religion, and we are likewise the parent stock, whence, in future ages, still mightier empires may spring. In the eminent position to which we have attained through the energy of our forefathers and of ourselves,—famed as we are throughout the world for sagacity, prudence, and forethought,—our practical decisions on the great questions that affect the interests of the human race are watched with intense anxiety by all intelligent and reflecting men. Every onward step that England takes, is a step in the civilisation of the world; and the policy of England will gradually become the policy of all enlightened nations. Twice, of late years, we have rendered noble service to our fellow-beings; twice well deserved the thanks of mankind, for the example we have set to the other rulers of the earth—first, when we freed our negro slaves, and proclaimed that to hold men in bondage was inexpedient, unholy, and unjust—secondly, when we removed restrictions on commercial intercourse, broke down the barriers that had long separated neighbouring states, and bound together hostile communities by the strong ties of mutual interest, which are by far the most potent securities against the hideous calamities of war. Now, sir, to the principles of civil liberty and commercial freedom, let us join, in the government of this empire, the third great principle of religious equality. Now let us confirm the decision of our foremost citizens. Now is the time to declare that as legislators we have no business with articles of faith—that our laws shall be silent on all questions of religion—and that, as adherents of every creed are to be found among the subjects of the British empire, adding to its wealth, augmenting its resources, and increasing

its power, so they should all possess the same civil rights and privileges as citizens; and thus let us sweep away the last relics of the ancient reign of imbecile bigotry and intolerance in its dotage."

The views of the right honourable baronet upon the subject of our foreign relations, are in direct hostility to the policy which was for so many years pursued under the administration of that department by Lord Palmerston. Those views are to be found recorded in able papers contained in the pages of the *London* and the *London and Westminster Reviews*, and also in a speech which he made in the House of Commons in June 1850, when, in consequence of a resolution being adopted by the Upper House condemnatory of that policy, Mr Roebuck moved, "That the principles on which the foreign policy of her Majesty's Government has been regulated have been such as were calculated to maintain the honour and dignity of this country, and in times of unexampled difficulty to preserve peace between England and the various nations of the world." Mr Roebuck having, with a little pardonable vanity, perhaps, boasted, in the course of the remarks with which he introduced his resolution, that "from us had emanated all that was worth respecting in the government of men," the right honourable baronet rose and protested against a doctrine which would make us the "political pedagogues of the world," and would bind mankind to adopt our institutions as the best form of government for the nations of the earth. But Mr Roebuck only wished to propagate his faith by "moral influences." Now the same language was used by the chiefs of the first French Revolution, and it appeared to him (Sir W. Molesworth) that the only moral influences which we were entitled to use, in order to convince foreign nations of the goodness of our institutions, would consist in making our institutions work well in this country, and in setting a good example, which foreign nations

might imitate, if they thought proper so to do. He objected, therefore, to the so-called "moral influences," which consisted in instructing ambassadors to become the chiefs of political parties, and to teach ministers of foreign potentates the mode of governing their subjects. He objected to sending envoys as "wandering lecturers" on the principles of constitutional government. And he maintained that one nation had no more right to interfere with the local affairs of another nation than one man had to interfere in the private affairs of another man. What follows is a severe lesson read to Lord Palmerston:—"Now, sir, there are certain persons who delight to interfere in the affairs of other persons, and are always offering unasked-for and uncalled-for advice. These persons are called officious meddlers. They are very disagreeable persons; hated as mischief-makers, and apt to sow discord in the bosoms of families. This is precisely our character among the nations of the earth, in consequence of our foreign policy. We are looked upon as an officious, meddling nation, which, not content with managing its affairs very well on the whole, must interfere with the affairs of other nations—and ours is the inevitable lot of the officious givers of uncalled-for advice. We are hated by all parties in all nations. The Liberals say that we first encourage, and then abandon them. Their opponents say we have stirred up the embers of discontent. It is doubtful whether we have always interfered on the truly liberal side; but this is certain, that the victory has always been to the party opposed to us, and that the way to be popular throughout Europe is to be at enmity with our Foreign Office. Therefore, in consequence of our foreign policy, we are generally detested by the nations of Europe; and if we determine to persevere in that policy, it is idle to talk of reducing our fleets or armies, or our general expenditure. On the contrary, we ought to augment them all." Upon

the division which followed, the right honourable baronet voted with the minority against the motion of confidence. Whether the views he here expresses be correct or not, undoubtedly they have received strong confirmation by subsequent events; for not only has the Foreign Office *ex necessitate* abandoned the policy, but we find it "idle to talk of reducing our fleets, our armies, or our expenditure; on the contrary, we have augmented them all." From the year 1845 the right honourable baronet has devoted his attention more especially to questions affecting the administration and government of the colonies, the promotion of "Colonial Reform," the establishment of representative institutions at the Cape of Good Hope, New Zealand, and the Australias, and the abolition of transportation to the last-mentioned colonies. On the 25th of July 1848 he moved a resolution in the House of Commons for inquiry into the colonial expenditure of the British empire, with a view to its reduction, and for the purpose of securing greater contentment and prosperity to the colonists, by investing them with large powers for the administration of their own local affairs; but the motion led to no immediate result, for, after a reply from the minister, the House was counted out. In June of the following year, Sir William Molesworth moved for an address to her Majesty for a commission to inquire into the administration of the colonies, with a view of removing the causes of colonial complaint, diminishing the cost of colonial government, and giving free scope to individual enterprise in the business of colonising. In support of this motion the right honourable baronet said—"Under the existing colonial system in most of our colonies—I may, indeed, say all of them, with the exception of Canada—representative institutions are rather shams than realities, for they seldom lead to the legitimate consequences of representative government—namely, responsible government, according to the will of the majority of the representatives

of the people. In almost all the representative colonies the Colonial Office generally attempts to carry on the government by means of a minority of the representative assembly, with the assistance of a legislative assembly, composed of the nominees of the Colonial Office. The consequence is a perpetual struggle between the majority of the representative assembly and the party of the Colonial Office, a struggle carried on with an intensity of party hatred and rancour happily unknown to us. Each party rejects or disallows the measures of the other party. Thus, legislation stands still, and enmity increases. After a time the supplies are stopped, and a dead lock ensues. Then the Imperial Parliament is called in to take the part of the Colonial Office, and a constitution is sometimes suspended. Next, to preserve order, or to put down rebellion, the military force is augmented; and, finally, a demand is made upon the purses of the British people, who have invariably to pay the piper at every colonial brawl. . . . . Thus, both in the colonies which have representative assemblies, and in those which have them not, the one great cause of complaint is irresponsible government from a distance, that is, government by rulers who are necessarily ignorant of the state of their subjects, who sometimes, with the very best intentions, propose, and insist upon, the very worst measures. It would be easy to take colony after colony, and shew in each a series of blunders which have been committed by the Colonial Office. For instance, how the war of races was stimulated in Canada; how the ruin of the planters was made inevitable in the West Indies; how a valuable portion of our fellow-subjects in South Africa were driven into the desert, and became rebels; how the immorality of Van Diemen's Land was fearfully augmented; how the colonisation of New Zealand was spoilt; how Vancouver's Island was thrown away—all through the ignorance, negligence, and vacillation of the

Colonial Office—the three inseparable incidents of our system of colonial government." The right honourable baronet proposed three heads of inquiry by the commission, namely, colonial government, colonial expenditure, and emigration or colonisation. Upon a division, both sides of the House agreeing to consider the motion in the light of a censure upon the whole colonial policy of Great Britain, it was rejected by a majority of 163 to 89. Impressed with the gigantic and unmitigated evils attendant upon the system of transportation to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and with a view to its total abolition, in the session of 1837 Sir W. Molesworth moved for and obtained the appointment of a select committee of inquiry into the subject. A great mass of evidence upon the effects of transportation as a punishment in this country, and its demoralising influences upon the Australian colonies, was collected by this and another committee which sat the following year. It is mainly owing to the valuable reports of these committees that the attention of the Legislature and the Government has since been directed to the improvement of this vicious system, and that its termination may be anticipated at no distant date. The reports shew conclusively that it cannot be amended; that it has completely failed as a punishment; that it has been still more ineffectual as a means of reformation; that it has produced the most degraded community in the universe—the most demoralised society on record in the history of nations; and, at the same time, the one possessing, in proportion to its population, the greatest amount of wealth. It is necessary, however, that these reports should be read with caution, on account of the evident bias of the committees themselves. But make what allowance you please for colouring or exaggeration on the part of the committees, the hideous deformity of the system still stands out in bold relief, the bane without an antidote, the curse with-

out a blessing, of the colonies which are compelled to endure it. The last occasion on which Sir W. Molesworth brought this most important of all social questions to the colonists before the House of Commons was on the 20th of May 1851, when he moved an address to her Majesty for the discontinuance of transportation to Van Diemen's Land. The debate was then brought to a premature close by the House being counted out.

Gifted with inexhaustible patience, indomitable application, great keenness of perception, and a prodigious memory, it is not the wont of the right honourable baronet to quit any subject he once takes in hand until he has completely mastered its principles and its details. His set speeches on colonial reform, in particular, are consequently essays, crammed with all the information necessary to be brought to bear upon the question, but they are never tediously diffuse, and in print may be read with more interest than they are listened to, a thing which cannot be predicated of House of Commons oratory in general. His maxims with regard to the relation subsisting between the mother country and the colony, and the relative duties of each to the other, are just and enlightened; and the best proof that they are so is the direction which legislation for our settlements abroad has taken in recent times, under the successive administrations of Lord John Russell, the Earl of Derby, and the Government of which he is now a member. In the debates upon other questions than those enumerated his name has seldom appeared; but the divisions of the House of Commons have uniformly placed him in the lobby along with his old coadjutors in the work of reform.

# THE RIGHT HON. SIDNEY HERBERT.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIDNEY HERBERT, Secretary at War in the ministry of the Earl of Aberdeen, is son of the eleventh Earl of Pembroke, by his second wife, the only daughter of Simon, late Count Woronzow, and is half-brother and heir presumptive to the present Earl. The right honourable gentleman is now in the forty-third year of his age, having been born at Richmond in 1810. In 1846 he married a daughter of Major-General A'Court, C.B., of Amington Hall, Warwickshire, and niece of the first Lord Heytesbury. He is a deputy-lieutenant for Salop, Wilts, and Dublin, in all of which counties he has considerable landed property, and his seat is Wilton House, Wiltshire.

Mr Herbert has sat in the House of Commons as member for the county of Wilts from the year 1832, beginning public life as a Conservative, and a follower of the late Sir Robert Peel, to whom he faithfully and steadily adhered until the untimely death of that lamented statesman. Since that period he has usually acted in concert with those members of the House of Commons known as the "Peelite" section of that House, and whom he, with Mr Gladstone, Mr Cardwell, and one or two more, represents in the Government of Lord Aberdeen. As a debater, the right honourable gentleman rises above the ordinary level of the orators of the House of Commons. His style of speaking is smooth and even, very correct, always pleasing, and set off with the polished manners and address of a well-educated Eng-

lish gentleman. But his speeches, though smart and generally clever, are never remarkable for any great display of the faculty of thought. He seldom strikes out new ideas upon a subject, though successful in presenting recognised truths in the most acceptable point of view. The House listens to him respectfully; but the occasions are few and far between when it is moved to relax its habitual rigidity to give him more than the approving "Hear, hear." The "vehement cheering" of stout country gentlemen, which meets the eye of the reader of Mr D'Israeli's orations; the "roars of laughter" excited by Mr Bernal Osborne's witticisms, or Mr Henry Drummond's quaintnesses; and the "loud cheers and laughter" which follow some brilliant repartee of Lord Palmerston, are not often to be found in Mr Herbert's speeches. The fact is, the principal *forte* of the right honourable gentleman lies in his administrative capacity, which is considerable, and justifies the proverbial, almost intuitive, discrimination of Sir Robert Peel in selecting individuals to fill the subordinate offices in his Government. This quality renders the right honourable gentleman a valuable acquisition to whatever ministry may have the advantage of his services.

The parliamentary career of Mr Herbert furnishes an illustration of the progressive liberalising of political sentiments, and the gradual abandonment of narrow prejudices for wide, generous, and enlightened principles. We believe the first occasion of his taking part in a debate within the walls of Parliament was on the 20th of June 1834, upon a motion for the second reading of a bill for the admission of Dissenters to the universities. Mr Estcourt, the predecessor of Mr Gladstone in the representation of the University of Oxford, having moved as an amendment that the bill be read a second time that day six months, he was seconded by Mr Sidney Herbert, who opposed the measure on the ground that, in these times of dissension of every

species, the admission of Dissenters to the universities would be nothing less than opening those institutions to conflicting opinions, and making them the arena for religious animosity, instead of allowing them to be the quiet seats of study. He asked, if the Dissenters followed the course he thought they would pursue, if they ignored religion, if they refused to allow it to enter into their system of education, or gave at best but an emasculated education, what would be the consequences? Why, the noblemen and gentry of the country would cease to send their sons to the universities! But he understood Dissenters were a rich and respectable class of persons: why, then, did they not found and endow colleges of their own, and teach in them whatever they chose? "The Protestants" would not interfere with them. They might have whatever test of admission they pleased; for "the Protestants" would no more ask to be admitted into their colleges than they now ask to be admitted to Maynooth. Let the Dissenters, therefore, erect their own colleges; and if they should appear to produce, as the English universities had, great and eloquent statesmen, profound philosophers, and men who would be an ornament to society, then would their country be grateful to them for the benefit they had bestowed upon it.

Now all this, neatly and prettily as it was expressed, will strike the reader as being very puerile. It would appear as if members of the Church of England were the only persons entitled to the distinctive and honourable appellation of "Protestants;" else, why are "the Protestants" so frequently set in opposition to the Dissenters in this argument? Upon the face of them, however, the sentiments are evidently the immature conclusions of incomplete and imperfect reasoning. And we believe that, with regard to this as well as many other questions, Mr Herbert's opinions have since undergone serious modifications.

In the debate of the 15th of February 1838, on the motion of Mr Grote for the Vote by Ballot, Mr Herbert took the lead in opposing the motion. His objections were, however, directed rather against the ballot itself as a remedy for the evils complained of by the Reformers; for he admitted the necessity of some measure for the suppression of bribery and preventing intimidation at elections. The insufficiency of the ballot to prevent priestly intimidation in Ireland he put with much ingenuity; and the point is worth consideration by the advocates of that measure. How, he asked, would the ballot guard against priestly influence in Ireland? Did they expect that law would overcome superstition, or that it would prove a remedy against the confessional as a mode of communicating secrets? For his part he did not see that the ballot, or indeed any legislative measure, would prove a remedy against intimidation of that kind. The short answer to this argument was that, supposing the case put by the right honourable gentlemen to be correct, still the ballot was the lesser of two evils, and that the evil under the ballot must be infinitely smaller than the intimidation exercised by the priests at the polling-booths under the present system. Unless, however, the events attendant upon the recent elections in Ireland, at Six Mile Bridge and other places, and the wide-spread system of bribery prevalent in English boroughs have produced other impressions upon the mind of Mr Herbert, his former expressed convictions as to the inefficacy of the ballot remain unchanged.

To the foreign policy of Whig governments the right honourable gentleman has always been a consistent and steady opponent. He spoke and voted against it in debates upon the affairs of Spain in 1838, and the "Opium War" with China in 1840; and when, on the 24th of June 1850, in consequence of a vote of ce- upon Lord Palmerston by the House of Lord

which the hostile demonstrations of that noble lord towards the Greeks, and the appearance of the British fleet in the Piræus in support of the claims of Don Pacifico were made the pretext, Mr Roebuck moved a resolution approving of the policy of her Majesty's Government, Mr Herbert delivered one of the ablest speeches he has ever yet made in the House of Commons. As one of the best of his performances, we subjoin an extract from this speech:—

"I ask the house to consider what have been the gross results of the noble lord's policy? I do not impugn his conduct upon all occasions. I do not say that in the numerous negotiations in which he has been engaged he has not conducted some of them to a happy issue. But I ask you to look at those countries in which the noble lord has not interfered—at Prussia, now free—at Austria, now attempting to consolidate constitutional institutions—and then compare their condition with the condition of those countries which the noble lord has cursed with his assistance. Do you approve of the condition of Sicily? Do you approve of the condition of Rome, held by the sword of the French, and which, after having achieved its freedom, is now bound down under the yoke of an ignorant and fanatical priesthood? I wish you joy of those conquests of freedom in the countries which you have taken under your protection. It is true that men must not always be judged by the results of their labours, but constant failure surely cannot be a test of merit. . . . . No one would contend that the noble lord could or would require that he should conduct the affairs of this country with the perfect and certain acquiescence of foreign powers. But there may be differences without alienation, and variances of opinion without insult. I say that, looking at the state of Europe, and recollecting the mode in which these different negotiations have been carried on—bearing in mind how the people of

other countries have been flattered by supposing that the success of their cause was guaranteed by the British name—considering the manner in which these people were first encouraged, and afterwards betrayed—how, while success appeared probable, they were backed, and when failure was certain, they were deserted—I do charge the present unparallelled condition of this country in relation to other states on the Minister of Foreign Affairs of this country. I ask you, therefore, as members of a constitutional government, and as members representing British feelings, to mark with your reprobation that policy which, not only by its sentiments and its objects, but also by its tone, has tended to lower the public character of this country, and to produce alienation from, and an aversion to, the British people and the British name."

Up to the year 1841, Mr Herbert's opinions on the principles which should guide us in our commercial intercourse with other nations were decidedly Protectionist. He opposed the measure of the then Whig Government, to substitute for the sliding-scale an eight shilling fixed duty on the import of corn, as well as the proposal of Lord John Russell for a reduction of the duties on foreign sugar. His speech on the latter question contained the first glimmerings of an alteration of opinion with regard to the free trade theory. He taunted gentlemen on the ministerial benches with ostentatiously enunciating the principles of free trade, as if they had been the discoverers of them, "those principles having been enunciated years ago by a cabinet, of which Mr Huskisson and Mr Peel were prominent members." Frankly he admitted that nobody could dispute the theory of free trade. The only objection that existed was to the mode of application; and if it was to be applied as an inflexible mathematical rule, without wisdom and without caution, what, he asked, was the use of statesmanship?

After the general election of 1841, Sir Robert Peel assumed the reins of power, and appointed Mr Herbert to the Secretaryship of the Admiralty. This post he occupied until February 1845, when he accepted the office of Secretary-at-War, with a seat in the cabinet, which he retained up to the period of the retirement of Sir Robert Peel's ministry in July 1846. The duties of both these offices he performed with satisfaction alike to the Government, the public, and the naval and military professions. As a cabinet minister in Sir Robert Peel's Government, he, of course, voted for the commercial and financial reforms introduced by that right honourable baronet, which relieved the country from its embarrassments, laid the foundation for the entire repeal of the Corn Laws and the general adoption of the free trade principle in our commercial legislation, and placed the national finances on a safer footing than they had ever before rested upon. When, on the 13th of March 1845, Mr Cobden moved for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the effects of the Corn Laws on the agriculturists, Mr Herbert was entrusted by his political chief with the duty of stating the views of the Government upon the question. From the small advantages which had attended all previous committees on agricultural distress, he argued the inexpediency of instituting any further inquiry, particularly when conducted by unfriendly hands. It was on this occasion that he spoke of farmers coming "whining to Parliament,"—a phrase which was afterwards distorted for party purposes into a studied insult of the agricultural interest, and brought down upon the right honourable gentleman the unmitigated ire of Protectionist agitators. What the right honourable gentleman really did say, and it has scarcely ever yet been explained, was that, as the representative of an agricultural constituency, he believed it would be distasteful to the agriculturists to come "whining to Parliament"

at every period of temporary distress—nor would they do so; that Parliament had accorded to them a certain amount of reduced protection; and that in distressed circumstances, such as a failure of the crops or the like, they would put their shoulder to the wheel and meet them manfully. His growing free trade tendencies were more apparent, however, when he went on to say that the agriculturists could not do better than follow the advice given them by Mr Pusey, then M.P. for Berkshire, especially to spend capital on their farms and on the improvement of the land, and so, by their own efforts, restore prosperity;—that the Government had no wish to maintain a high monopoly without any alteration, as it had proved, nor had it made any promises to the agriculturists of certain prices on corn, which they knew that no law could give;—that the Government did not deny there was a certain amount of protective duty in favour of agriculturists; but they did not express any intention of altering it; but, on the contrary, that it was a fair subject for discussion in that House they freely admitted, and in that House they were quite ready to discuss it. The first occasion upon which the right honourable gentleman openly avowed that his views upon commercial policy had experienced a complete change was in the debate which took place in the House of Commons on the 27th of January 1846, on the motion of Sir Robert Peel for a committee of the whole House upon the Customs and Corn Importation Acts. Having been taunted by the Earl of March with an abandonment of his oft-expressed convictions, the right honourable gentleman repudiated the imputation that he was actuated by any but disinterested motives, and declared that it was only after the most anxious consideration he had resolved on adopting the course he had taken. At subsequent periods during these debates, the principal reasons he urged in defence of a repeal of the Corn Laws were

the scarcity in Ireland and the failure of the modified sliding scale of 1842, under which they had seen "dear bread and low wages, dear bread and high duties." He likewise contended that all commercial legislation from 1815 was designed to effect a gradual transition from the high prices of the war to the low prices of peace. The change which had taken place in the opinions of the very class who professed to support the Corn Laws had induced him to think that those laws were not maintainable; that when they were no longer willingly accepted by the community, and became in their eyes most unjust, they ought to be no longer maintained; and that the improvements which science, skill, and experience had effected in agriculture, whereby our agricultural produce was grown at a less cost, rendered that a fitting time for a total repeal of the Corn Laws. This manly and honest declaration of a change of opinion, and the grounds upon which he had arrived at his conclusions, evoked a perfect hurricane of indignation on the part of the Protectionists of Wiltshire; and when the general election came in 1847, a strenuous attempt was made to displace him in the representation of that county. But his opponents were signally defeated, and a similar attempt in 1852 was followed by a like result.

In a debate which took place on the 15th of April 1852, on the position of affairs and parties in the House of Commons, Mr Herbert vindicated the Liberal opposition from the charge of obstructing the progress of public business, and justified the course adopted by Sir Robert Peel and his ministry on the Corn Laws in 1846. "To the latest day of my life," he said, "I shall feel a pride in the course I then took. It is true that we were exposed to much obloquy—it is true that we were exposed to much misrepresentation, and that we had to make a choice—a difficult one at any time, and a bitter option to take—a choice between party ties and the feelings of

personal honour, as wrapped up in party ties on the one hand, and the welfare of the country on the other; and if those principles, for which we then sacrificed office, and have undergone since what I admit to have been a necessary political ostracism, are to be attacked, no effort shall be wanting on my part to do my utmost to maintain those principles, and to preserve unimpaired, unreversed, unrevised, and unmodified, the blessings which I believe to have been given by those measures to the great body of my fellow-countrymen."

The right honourable gentleman has invariably taken a prominent part in support of the endowment of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. On the second reading of the Endowment Bill, in 1845, he argued that the danger of refusing to pass it would be great in proportion as it was a measure sound in policy and acceptable to the priesthood, and, upon its success depended very much the education and enlightenment of the people of Ireland. In conjunction with Mr Gladstone and other of his colleagues in the present Government, he strenuously opposed the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill of Lord John Russell—a measure which, it will be recollected, was considered necessary, from the arrogant pretensions of the Pope, and his audacious act in mapping out this country into ecclesiastical districts, and appointing bishops thereto, with titles derived from the sees. "*Magna est veritas et prævalebit*," he exclaimed; "I wish to see the Government and people of this country scorn to lean for their defence upon the crutches of a defective act of Parliament. I wish to see them confide more in the purity of our faith, in our free institutions, and their adaptability to the people. We should seek to meet these Romish aggressions by the spread of our Gospel principles, by the diffusion of education, by letting in light where there has been darkness, and then trust in Almighty God for the result."

When, on the 20th of February 1852, Lord John

Russell moved for leave to bring in a bill for re-organising the "local militia," Mr Herbert spoke and voted in favour of the amendment of Lord Palmerston to omit the word "local." The amendment was carried against the Government, and immediately after Lord John Russell resigned office, and was succeeded by the ministry of the Earl of Derby. To the militia bill introduced by Mr Walpole, Home Secretary in Lord Derby's administration, Mr Herbert accorded his support by speech and vote; looking at the measure in the present juncture of affairs as an insurance upon property, industry, honour, and everything that involved the national welfare.

Outside the walls of Parliament Mr Sidney Herbert has distinguished himself by his efforts in favour of educating the poor in the principles of the Established Church. He has also endeavoured to extend the sphere of operations, and increase the utility of that Church in our colonial possessions. And he is honourably known to the public, in connexion with his amiable lady, by liberal benefactions to charitable objects, and the active part he has taken in alleviating the distressed condition of the needlewomen and servant classes of the metropolis, and promoting their emigration to the Australias.

# THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERICK VILLIERS, Earl of Clarendon, and Baron Hyde, her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was born on the 26th of January 1800, and is therefore now in the fifty-fourth year of his age. He married, on the 3d of June 1849, Lady Catherine Barham, the eldest daughter of the Earl of Verulam, and relict of the late John Barham, Esq., by whom he has issue several children. He traces his descent from Edward Hyde, the Lord Chancellor Clarendon of Charles II.'s reign, through the granddaughter of Henry, last Earl of Clarendon and Rochester of that line, who married the Honourable Thomas Villiers, of the house of Villiers, Earl of Jersey, which Thomas Villiers was afterwards created Earl of Clarendon, with remainder to the male issue of that wife, or, in default, to heirs male of her body. From this marriage the present earl is descended, having succeeded as fourth earl on the decease of his uncle in December 1838. His seats are the Grove, Watford, Herts; Penline Castle, Carmarthenshire; and Hindon, Wilts. The Honourable C. P. Villiers, Judge-Advocate, and M.P. for Wolverhampton, is his brother.

It is not unworthy of note, that the title first enjoyed by Sir Edward Hyde was derived from a spacious park near Salisbury, formerly the site of a royal palace, but better known as the place where Henry II., in 1164, summoned the great council of peers and prelates, from which emanated the celebrated "Constitu-

tion of Clarendon," by which the clergy were declared amenable to the civil powers. Hence arose the famous contest between that monarch and Thomas à Becket.

As the Honourable Mr Villiers, the subject of this notice was accredited envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Madrid by the administration of Earl Grey in the year 1833, and in this post acquitted himself with honour, alike to the country of which he was the representative and to his own personal character. His residence in Spain in a diplomatic capacity continued during the greater part of the sanguinary warfare which raged in that unfortunate country between the Constitutional or Queen's party—known by the term Christinos—and the adherents of the pretender, Don Carlos. In order that the state of the peninsular kingdom at this period and the exact position of the English minister at Madrid may be perfectly understood and appreciated, a brief sketch of the events succeeding each other there will be sufficient. Madrid itself was the focus of faction, abounding with intrigues and conspiracies of every sort. Military insurrections were not unfrequent. In the provinces a fierce struggle was being conducted between the partizans of the rival princes with a total disregard of the laws of civilised warfare, and a savage ferocity to be parallelled only by the operations of the Duke of Alva in the low countries in a previous century. On each side the captives were mercilessly butchered without regard to sex or age; and whole villages were destroyed by fire, and their inhabitants slaughtered in cold blood. On the 22d of April 1834, a treaty was concluded at London, to which England, France, Spain, and Portugal were the four contracting parties, and from this circumstance the transaction came to be known thereafter as the "Quadruple Alliance." The object of this treaty was the pacification of the two peninsular kingdoms;

and under its articles, Spain and Portugal mutually engaged to assist each other in the expulsion from their respective territories of Don Carlos and Don Miguel: Great Britain engaged to co-operate by employing a naval force, and France engaged to do all that the contracting parties, in common accord, should determine upon. Before its ratification was completed this treaty produced important results—Don Carlos being surrounded by the Portuguese contingent, had no means of escape from capture but by seeking refuge on board a British ship of war. He fled to London, and for a time resided there; but rebellion breaking out in the northern provinces of Spain, at the instigation of his agents, the Monks and Jesuits, he secretly quitted the English metropolis, passed through France undetected, and appeared once more in the midst of his insurgent bands of followers. In June 1835, an order in Council suspended the foreign enlistment Act in favour of the Queen of Spain, and permitted recruits and supplies to be raised in this country for her service. Colonel de Lacy Evans was appointed by the Spanish authorities to the command of the "auxiliary legion" this measure furnished them, and the landing of which at San Sebastian in July provoked the issue by Don Carlos of the brutal "Durango decree," giving authority to his troops to shoot every "stranger" whom they might take prisoner. Then followed the affairs at Hernani, Passages, Yrun, and Fuenterabia, the insurrection of the queen's troops at La Granja, and the proclamation of the "Constitution of 1812." In addition to this, an English naval squadron co-operated on the coast with the army of the Queen, and from that moment the prospects of the Carlists were altogether changed. For a time they waged a guerilla warfare; but the repeated successes of the constitutional forces, under the orders of General Espartero, backed by the active assistance of the English squadron, at length terminated in the flight

of Carlos, and the establishment of the supremacy of the Queen's arms and government.

It will now be comprehended that the position of the British envoy at Madrid was one of extreme difficulty and delicacy, and requiring the display of tact and ability of no ordinary character. It was, indeed, something more; it might also be described as one of much peril. And it serves in some measure to shew the light in which foreigners regarded his situation, and the treacherous factions by whom he was surrounded, that when his excellency was indisposed from a slight attack of ague in the autumn of 1836—a common complaint in southern climates on the change from heat to cold—many sinister rumours were circulated on the continent as to the cause of his illness, and French journalists roundly asserted that he had been poisoned!

His excellency had to maintain relations on a friendly footing with a court, the subject of divided councils and constantly fluctuating opinions; now under the influence of the constitutionalists, then dictated to by a violent and capricious soldiery, always operated upon by traitors and conspirators within its own walls, and perpetually swaying to and fro, as either of these antagonistic elements prevailed over its own inherent weakness and indecision. All the wisdom, energy, and self-reliance which the English minister possessed was called into vigorous exercise, as the representative of the only one of the contracting powers which seemed disposed to fulfil the conditions of the quadruple treaty; for France, jealous of English influence in the peninsula, and with a faithlessness worthy the government of the barricades of July, had contributed only promises, whilst Portugal, crippled in its resources, and just emerging from civil strife, could furnish but little effective aid. Mr Villiers's advice was sought for, and received with becoming deference and respect at the Escurial. The terms of the convention entered into between Lord Eliot and the

Carlist General Zumalacarregui, in 1835, for establishing a *cartel* for a regular exchange of prisoners and generally humanising the system of warfare, were not long observed by either of the belligerent parties. Indeed, after a while, the feelings of mutual hatred which that treaty had somewhat dammed up broke forth with increased fury, and both sides vied with each other in the cruelties they perpetrated. That the war did not become one of actual extermination was chiefly due to the unceasing exertions of Mr Villiers to enforce upon the Christinos especially, the impolicy of carrying out the *lex talionis*, and the necessity of conducting their military operations according to the practice of civilised nations. The liberal party in Spain looked to our minister with infinitely more hope and confidence than to their own Government; and so popular was his excellency with the inhabitants of Madrid and the urban militia, that more than once he had to retire from the city for a day or two to avoid the friendly manifestations which were prepared for him, and which it would have hardly comported with the dignity of his office to receive. Whilst steadily devoting himself to the enforcement of the principles of humanity in the conduct of the war, and the accomplishment of the objects of the quadruple treaty, his excellency never for an instant lost sight of other aims equally high and in conformity with the maxims and the policy of the British Government. It was through his efforts that we were successful in negotiating a treaty with Spain for the more effectual abolition of the slave trade in the Spanish colonies, a measure to which the Governments of Spain had until then steadily refused to listen. This treaty was hailed with delight by the philanthropists of England. It was honourably mentioned in a conspicuous paragraph in the king's speech on the opening of Parliament in 1836, and in the same session was formally sanctioned as an act of the Imperial Legislature.

In the following year, he obtained for British subjects in Spain an exemption from the tax levied for the support of the war. An interesting incident is related of his excellency in Mr George Borrow's entertaining work, *The Bible in Spain.* Mr Borrow was employed by the British and Foreign Bible Society as their agent for the sale and distribution of the Holy Scriptures in the peninsula, and on one occasion, having opened a shop for this purpose in the market-place of Madrid, he was taken into custody by the local authorities, and committed to prison. Representations being made by Mr Borrow's friends to the English minister, his excellancy hastened to visit him in his confinement, heard an explanation of the case from Mr Borrow himself, expressed his own personal sympathies with him and the good work in which he was engaged, and speedily procured his release from incarceration.

The services of Mr Villiers in his diplomatic capacity were stamped with the approval of the Government at home. The honorary distinction of G.C.B. was conferred upon him. And in a debate upon our foreign policy in the House of Commons on the 19th April 1837, Viscount Palmerston, the then Foreign Minister, bore this high testimony to their value:—

"This," said he, "brings me to Spain, and how do we stand there? Our relations with Spain are greatly improved. I am asked whether we have gained any influence there? I answer yes; and as a proof of it, I point to the treaty which we have concluded with that power for the suppression of the slave trade, an act of humanity and justice which ought to have been accomplished long since, but which no power of diplomacy on the part of England had before been able to extract from the former Governments of Spain. And whereas in the time of Ferdinand the influence of Russia was paramount at Madrid, Great Britain is now regarded in Spain with those sentiments of friendship and esteem

which are due to our good faith, and to our strict adherence to treaties and engagements. *I am bound to say, that the respect which Spain has for this country is very much owing to the able and judicious conduct of the representative of the British Government at Madrid. The high character which that minister has personally established, and the good faith which the British Government has observed in its dealings, have indeed rendered the character of an Englishman a passport through Spain!*"

At the commencement of the year 1839, on the death of his uncle, Mr Villiers quitted Madrid, returned to England, and took his seat in the House of Lords as Earl of Clarendon. On the 27th of July following, the Marquis of Londonderry rose in his place in Parliament, and put some questions with regard to certain papers laid upon the table, relating to the affairs of Spain and the communications which had been interchanged between Her Majesty's ministers and the three northern powers, with the purpose of procuring a mitigation of the atrocious manner in which the civil war in that country had been carried on, and even the eventual termination of hostilities. These overtures, it seemed, had issued in no practical result, and the noble marquis, who indulged in some severe strictures in the course of his speech, desired to know the reason of their failure. The strictures of the noble marquis elicited a speech from the Earl of Clarendon, which at once established him as one of the most accomplished debaters in the House of Lords. In his reply Lord Clarendon said, that as the object sought by Her Majesty's Government in mitigating the horrors of the war appeared by the papers themselves to have been fully achieved; and as the answer to the question put to Her Majesty's Government was to be found in the correspondence itself, and several weeks had elapsed since the papers were presented, without the noble marquis's sense of duty moving him to make them a subject of discussion, he was inc

to think that some other motive than that avowed by the noble marquis must have led to the course he had now taken; that he considered the cause he had so long protected in Spain stood at that moment in peculiar need of his assistance; and that the noble marquis had come to the rescue, less out of a desire to see a termination put to the horrors of civil war, than from the fear that if the mediation which he was so anxious to bring about were too long deferred it might arrive too late. He proceeded to say, that there was then so much disunion among the Carlists—their want of means was so great, and their discontent so general—that the cause never was considered to be in so disastrous a plight. He knew this to be the opinion of some of the most influential Carlists, both in and out of Spain; and as their fears had, in all probability, been caught by the noble marquis, he might have thought, by the course he had adopted, to throw his shield over Don Carlos, and to hide his *protégé's* distress by placing him on the same footing with the Queen of Spain, and invoking the mediation of the great powers of Europe, as if the belligerent parties were on terms of equality. Having shewn that the fugitive, Don Carlos, could not treat on equal terms with the queen, whose government had been recognised by England and France; and that, under the protocol signed at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, no congress for the settlement of the affairs of Spain could have been assembled unless asked for by Spain; he contended that the case of the recognition of Belgium, upon its separation from Holland, was totally different from that of Spain. He continued thus:—

"If England and France could have consented to a congress at which the claims of Don Carlos to the throne of Spain were to be supported, and if such claims were not brought forward, and the rights of the queen recognised, then the congress would be unneces-

sary. For were the northern powers to withdraw their support and aid from Don Carlos, the war would be at an end. But let me ask the noble marquis upon what grounds he says the Spaniards would have yielded? Does he draw his deduction upon that point from history, or experience, or his knowledge of Spanish character? He must have strangely confused them if he thinks what he says, for I can tell him that neither threats nor protocols of foreign powers would have any more influence upon Spaniards than they would upon Englishmen, and their only result would be to unite all classes of Spaniards in one bond of resistance to the powers by which their nationality was menaced. True it is that the combined armies of Europe might march into Spain, and establish there any system of government that a congress of sovereigns might think fit to decree; but is the noble marquis prepared to resort to such an expedient? Or, if he were, does he think the powers of Europe would be prepared to march with him? Or, if they were, does he think the government they had set up in Spain would endure one hour after the last foreign soldier had crossed the frontier? I have some experience of that country, and the noble marquis may take my word, that the unsolicited intervention of foreigners in the political institutions of Spaniards will always be a miserable failure. And so it ought to be, and greatly it redounds to the honour of Spaniards that it should be so. . . . . I believe, however, the noble marquis will admit that the papers on your lordships' table prove that British agency was well directed, and productive of good results as regards the mitigation of the civil war in Lower Arragon, and that through our means much human suffering was diminished, and many lives spared; and thus, through the intervention of Her Majesty's Government, a state of things has been brought about quite as important, and quite as much called for as that which the Eliot convention established.

The noble marquis blames my noble friend at the head of foreign affairs (Viscount Palmerston) because the Eliot treaty was not made to extend throughout the whole of Spain. My Lords, it was impossible—I wish to heaven it had been possible! But those who talk upon the subject as the noble marquis has done, are really not aware of the facts. At all times of political disturbance in Spain, there are never wanting bands of robbers and malefactors who start up in every quarter, and raise the standard of revolt in their own particular district for the mere purposes of crime; and to have made the Eliot convention applicable to such men would have been sufficient of itself to have quadrupled—I do aver, more than quadrupled—their numbers by offering beforehand impunity for their offences. It would have led to every class of bad consequences, and never would have been carried into effect; but in the Basque provinces, where two armies were in the presence of each other, and depots of prisoners and a regular *cartel* could be established, the treaty was practicable. It proved a real blessing; added another item to the immense debt of gratitude which the Spanish nation owes to the noble duke opposite—(the Duke of Wellington)—a debt which I must say is always cheerfully and cordially acknowledged."

The Marquis of Londonderry having, in a previous speech upon Spanish affairs, made some harsh comments on the conduct of Lord Clarendon, as minister at Madrid, the earl being absent from the House at the time, he gracefully, and with quiet sarcasm, and a perfect understanding of the peculiar idiosyncracy of the marquis, turned aside the attack, by admitting any person's right to canvass the public conduct of a public servant, assuring the noble marquis that, as he differed from him upon every point connected with Spain, he could not say that he expected to merit his approbation—"*neither, indeed, could he say that he*

*was ambitious of it.*" The following extract from the same admirable oration is stamped in every thought and sentence with the essential characteristics of the highest order of parliamentary eloquence. For strict accuracy of statement, profound insight of character, and convincing argumentation, it might form part of a brilliant chapter in a history of the period:—

"In the speech of the noble marquis last year, he cast a great and undeserved slur upon Spaniards, by assuming that they feel disgust at the free institutions endeavoured to be forced upon them. The noble marquis, from the whole tenour of his speech, meant to convey the idea—the absolutely erroneous idea—that the attempt to force these institutions upon Spaniards was made by Her Majesty's Government; and as so much has been said respecting Spain, and so little that is really accurate is known, it may be matter of interest, if not of importance, to the people of this country to know what those institutions were likely to effect for Spaniards—what their feeling is towards them—and what interest England has in the success of the queen's cause. My lords, there is no greater error than to suppose that Spaniards are unfit for freedom, or averse to a liberal form of government. Their own municipal institutions are the freest and most popular in the world. They existed in Spain when the feudal system obtained in the rest of Europe. Although we have heard much lately in this House respecting municipal institutions, and certainly they are not here spoken of with much veneration, I consider them as the best trainers for freedom, and the system which renders men the most fit to be entrusted with liberty. It is certainly true that Spain has for centuries been under the double yoke of a kingly and a priestly despotism, with all the train of degradation and corruption that they bring with them. But it is true that she has seized the first opportunity of emancipating herself, and the sacrifices

which that nation now submits, and all the horrors of civil war which Spaniards now endure, are proofs of their conviction that the objects which they have in view more than outweigh the difficulties with which their attainment is surrounded. But the contest they are engaged in is not sterile. They have already gained, and gained much. They have made such despotism as they before endured in future impossible. Were Don Carlos himself on the throne, he could not restore it. He would try. The bloody and fanatical party in whose hands he must always be a blind and wretched, though not unwilling, instrument would try it. They would confiscate, and banish, and gibbet; but they would fail. And I am convinced that if Don Carlos were upon the throne, he would, in the course of one twelve months, do more to injure the monarchical system, and to render monarchy abominable, than all the resolutions and constitutions that can be conceived would effect in a century. It is true I am convinced that the northern powers of Europe would perceive their error in having supported a cause, without being fully acquainted with the objects and the men, which must render order and good governmen in Spain impossible; and I am sure that order and good government, by whatever means established, is all that these powers in reality desire. They can have no other object, and no other interest. But Spaniards of the present day have rendered any return to the despotism of former times impossible; and I say that in this—(setting aside all feelings of philanthropy)—we have cause for satisfaction, and that it is for our interest that events should take the turn they are now doing in Spain. Let any man compare the system—the brutal barbarous system—which existed under Ferdinand, when the priests exercised their tyranny and their vengeance without control; when correspondence with a relation exiled for his political opinions was punishable by death; when every domestic tie was loosened

by the vilest system of *espionage;* when knowledge was criminal, and the universities were closed, and colleges for bull-fighters opened. Let any one compare such a system with the one which prevails now, imperfect as it is in many points. But it has produced popular representation, free discussion, and a free press. These have produced what was impossible before—public opinion; and that has in a great measure corrected what was inevitable under the government of Ferdinand—corruption. The consequences of this are, that life and property—(except in those parts afflicted by the civil war)—are more secure; that the revenues of Spain are more than one-half greater than they were ever known to be before; that an enormous class of proprietors has been created by the sale of national property; that capital flows into more wholesome and useful channels; that education makes rapid advances, and agriculture is advancing; and notwithstanding all the horrors of war, Spain is at this moment laying a foundation for future prosperity, incalculably more solid than at the time when, for her misfortune, she discovered America, and lost all stimulus to future exertion. My lords, I am aware that this account may appear to be exaggerated; but I say nothing but what I know, and I say it under all the responsibility that should attach to any statement deliberately made to your lordships. Such is the state of things now in Spain, and I think it requires no extraordinary degree of intelligence to discover how that state is likely to become advantageous to us, and whether it is not probable we shall gain more from Spain liberalised than under the absolute government of Ferdinand. The noble marquis, in the speech to which I have alluded, inquires, what commercial advantages we have gained in return for our alliance. My Lords, it is the first time I have ever heard the alliance of Great Britain treated as a marketable commodity, and I think that the feeling of

country is of too noble and generous a character to wish to turn the temporary distress of an ally to a selfish account, however desirable it may be to establish commercial relations with them upon a more liberal footing. It would be but a short-sighted policy; for every commercial arrangement, in order to be permanent, should be based upon reciprocal commercial advantages; and if Spaniards, involved in war, are a little slow to comprehend the benefits of free-trade, and have not yet perceived the necessity of an unrestricted interchange of productions with England, although the question is daily making progress, let us, my lords, remark that Spain is an agricultural country; that agricultural produce is all she has to give in exchange for our manufactures—let us remember our own Corn Laws, and the debates which, not later than this year, have taken place upon them in Parliament, and I think that even the noble marquis himself will be inclined to give the Spaniards a little further time for distinguishing more clearly the point at which monopoly and private interest should yield before the general good. Before we talk lightly of other nations to measure them by our own standard is but just towards them, and it may afterwards be useful to ourselves. Liberty in Spain is, to be sure, but in its dawn, and struggling for existence, while ours (thank God!) is upon an imperishable basis; but before we look down with contempt upon Spaniards from the height to which we have gloriously, but not without labour, ascended since our own civil wars, let us see in what manner they have hitherto used the liberty they have gained." Referring to the decorum and propriety with which the proceedings of the cortes were conducted, as a proof that Spaniards understood and valued a constitutional form of government, he continued:—"I have never failed to see the government in those chambers met with the vigorous and constitutional opposition which every government under a representa-

tive system ought to meet with; but I have also seen that opposition, when danger was imminent, lay aside all party spirit and, so far from endeavouring factiously to embarrass the government, rally round it, and unite as one man against the common danger by which the country was threatened. I say, then, that Spaniards know how to appreciate the value, and to enter into the spirit of representative government. Then, in Spain, the press is as free and unshackled as in England—the conduct of the government and of every public functionary is canvassed with the utmost severity—and juries are as unwilling to check the liberty or, it may be, the licentiousness of the press in Spain as they are in England. I say, then, my lords, that if such is the use which Spaniards make of their new institutions, the noble marquis is no more justified in saying that Spaniards have a disgust for their institutions than he has to charge Her Majesty's ministers with having promoted political changes in that country, or to say that our policy in Spain led to the Canadian revolt, and the occupation of Algiers by the French; for such are the somewhat startling assertions to be found in the noble marquis's speech of last year. My lords, I opine that we have never, directly or indirectly, interfered with the political changes that have taken place in Spain. But I do say that it is natural that our sympathies and good wishes should be enlisted on the side of a country struggling to rescue itself from oppression and degradation, and to recover its lost place among the nations of Europe. It is not only our sympathies, however, that should be enlisted in behalf of Spain; for I believe that a nation ought not to have sympathies, but should be guided by its interests; and I say that we have an enormous interest in the triumph of the queen's cause —first, because it is by that triumph alone that the peninsula can ever be tranquil, and enjoy and impar the blessings that tranquillity brings with it; next, b

cause it is to Spain, under liberal institutions, and not under an absolute form of government, that we must look for a useful ally. It is there that we may expect to find a wealthy customer for our productions, new markets for our manufactures, and a friend instead of an enemy in our relations with the rest of Europe; and in the present state of those relations, neither friends nor enemies are to be despised. . . . Whoever has read the history of Europe rightly as connected with Spain, and more especially for the last hundred and fifty years, must acknowledge that in the power, prosperity, and, above all, the independence of Spain, we are deeply interested. Her Majesty's Government having taken this view—this, in my opinion, most just and proper view—of the interests of Great Britain, have during the last six years rendered very important services to Spain, for which that country, whatever the noble marquis may think to the contrary, is profoundly grateful; and for my own part, I only regret that that debt of gratitude should not be greater, and that circumstances should have prevented Her Majesty's Government from more effectually assisting the Queen of Spain. I regret that the restoration of Spain to that rank among nations, which she is beyond all question destined again to occupy, should not have been more exclusively owing to the aid which, in her hour of difficulty, she received from this country. My lords, I have only to thank your lordships sincerely for the attention with which you have been pleased to listen to me, and again to apologise for having obtruded myself upon your notice; but, connected as I have been with Spain, and knowing, as I do, how sensitively alive Spaniards are to the good opinion of Englishmen, and how deeply mortified they have been at the misrepresentations which have been current respecting them in England, I was anxious to avail myself of the only opportunity that can occur during the present session of Parliament, to record

(although I may have done it in a feeble and an ineffectual manner) the opinion which, by close observation, I have conscientiously formed of that brave and generous, but, in this country, much misrepresented people."

The popularity which the Earl of Clarendon had earned for himself in Spain did not cease with the termination of his diplomatic career at Madrid; and as soon as the speech above quoted reached the peninsula, a gold medal was struck in his honour for this additional service to the cause of constitutional freedom in that country. A meeting was also held at the house of General Quiroga, at which the oration was ordered to be translated into the Spanish language and put into the most extensive circulation, and subsequently it was determined to present the noble earl with a valuable work of art.

In 1839 the Earl of Clarendon accepted the office of Lord Privy Seal in the Melbourne Government, and in 1840 was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He continued to be a cabinet minister until the retirement of the Whigs, and the advent of Sir Robert Peel and the Conservatives to power, in September 1841. Having at all times been favourable to the principles of free-trade, the noble earl gave the commercial policy of the new government a cordial and hearty support. And when, in 1846, that crowning act of legislation, the total and entire repeal of the Corn Law, was under discussion in the House of Lords, he accompanied his vote for the measure with a speech of great ability and power. In that speech he said, he had no new opinions to advance, nor old ones to retract, having rarely missed an opportunity since he had had a seat in that House of stating what he conscientiously thought were the mischievous effects of protection in any shape, and of expressing his hope and belief that the time was rapidly approaching when the Corn Laws must be abolished. We give two brief extracts only:—

"There is no power in the country that, upon questions of food—questions that may really be called vital ones—can dare to disregard public opinion, or to precipitate the conflict that may any day occur; and this bill is, in my humble judgment, the only means now open to us of averting such a struggle between different classes—the only kind of civil war that our manners and state of civilisation now admit of, but not the less formidable for that—with all the rancour and animosity it would leave behind, and all the consequences it would entail upon those who eventually would have to yield, and who would repent, when too late, of not having been wise in time. The noble duke on the cross benches (the Duke of Richmond) declares, that he and his party have been completely taken by surprise by this measure; but if they have chosen to be deaf and blind to the intentions of Sir Robert Peel, the country has not been so—the country has well understood what he was about, and in which direction he was steering for the last four years. Previously to that time, however, is a very different question; and for my own part, I have never been able to explain how statesmen of acknowledged experience and foresight—statesmen who must, or who ought to have understood the wants and the wishes of the country, and the manner in which alone they could safely be dealt with—political leaders whose speedy advent to power and the responsibility of government was secure—how they could have joined in maligning the motives, and misrepresenting the measures, of the late Government, in advocating the fallacies which they knew it would soon be their duty to combat, and in decrying the policy of free-trade, which they must have foreseen they should shortly have to promote. This has, I repeat, always appeared inexplicable to my mind, upon any hypothesis of common sense or common honesty. Be that as it may, however, it is fortunate for the country that circum-

stances, since that time, have been precisely reversed, and that upon all questions affecting our great commercial interests we have had a Government possessing the power to do good, and an opposition without the will to thwart them. During these last four years Sir Robert Peel has never ceased to speak in language intelligible to those who did not wilfully deceive themselves. Such persons alone can have believed that the broad principles of commercial policy laid down by him on every occasion were inapplicable to the Corn Laws, and that when he threw wide open the gates of free-trade, he did so only for the admission of colonial asses, and drugs, and furniture woods, and a few hats and boots, and resolutely intended to close them against the most important of all commodities,—the food of our rapidly increasing and always under-fed population! . . . . Although," he concluded, "we may, for some time to come, expect in other countries a continuance of those errors which in our own are gradually yielding to knowledge and experience, yet, the universal tendency must be towards a freer interchange of the respective productions of different countries, and towards a recognition of the principle that low duties are always most profitable to the revenue. In fact, the whole system by which human intercourse has hitherto been so mischievously obstructed is fast crumbling away, and is about to find its level among a host of other exploded fallacies and antiquated superstitions. As for ourselves, impelled as we are by the necessity of penetrating into new markets, and of providing an increased demand for our increasing powers of production, we are about to adopt a policy which other countries will and must follow, not as a concession to us, but for their own interests; a policy by which we shall extend the intercourse of nations, and carry into execution that law of God by which men are destined to be of mutual assistance to each other, but by which, above all, we shall

give and we shall receive guarantees for placing upon a solid foundation that greatest and most inestimable blessing—Peace!"

On the return of the Liberals to power in 1847, with Lord John Russell at their head, the Earl of Clarendon was entrusted with the Government of Ireland, as Lord-Lieutenant, and entered upon his viceroyalty under the most encouraging auspices. It was considered one of the most popular appointments made by the new premier; and in Ireland it gave rise to boundless enthusiasm on the part of that excitable people. His excellency's reception was a perfect ovation. In the words of Lord Brougham, speaking some three years afterwards, when the tide of public feeling in Ireland had, through demagogic influences, been turned into other and less legitimate channels, he was "the object of their praise. They rejected so feeble an expression. Of their eulogy. That would not do. Of their profound admiration. That was nothing like it. Of their deep and heart-felt respect—in the heart's core felt respect. Even that was not sufficient. But of their veneration; of their all but adoration; and if their priests would have permitted it, even of their worship!" His excellency took possession of the viceroyalty, when the distress occasioned by the scarcity consequent on the successive failures of the potato crop was at its height, and famine and pestilence stalked with giant strides through the land, decimating the miserable population. In these circumstances he exerted himself to the utmost for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the unfortunate inhabitants, and administering the measures passed for their relief in the manner best calculated to effect the humane and beneficent intentions of the Legislature. As if these painful visitations of Providence were not sufficient, but that the cup of Ireland's woe might run over, in the beginning of 1848, civil strife was added to her other ills. Stimulated by the French Revolution in

February, the agitators for repeal of the Union with England attempted to carry out their mischievous designs by the commission of a series of acts going far beyond the bounds of the law, and tending to produce a general insurrection. Political clubs and war committees sprang up daily in Dublin and other towns. In that city alone, several of these associations existed. At the meetings of the "Young Ireland" party, which was the name appropriated to themselves by the advocates of physical force, the most seditious and treasonable language was used; whilst the newspapers stimulated their readers with laboured essays, inciting to hatred of this country, and teaching the people how to erect barricades, to destroy the troops, and to act together most effectually in armed masses. The situation of Ireland was critical, and demanded incessant watchfulness, unrelaxing firmness, and great prudence on the part of the executive Government. And in all these respects the Earl of Clarendon was not found wanting.

An overt act on the part of the disaffected, converting them from conspirators into rebels, produced a collision with the troops at Ballingary, in the county of Tipperary. The few misguided people who were there assembled were dispersed; their leader, O'Brien, "uttering brave words at the breach," was captured in a garden; other instigators to revolt were also arrested, and the rebellion was crushed. O'Brien was subsequently tried, and being found guilty of high treason, was condemned to death; but, by the advice of the Lord-Lieutenant, the extreme penalty of the law was not carried into effect, and the sentence was commuted to transportation for life; which punishment his fellow-conspirators, Mitchell and Meagher, were also adjudged to suffer.

For the suppression of these disturbances his excellency asked for no extraordinary powers from the Legislature. He deemed the powers vested in him [illegible] ordinary law of the land, impartially, judicious[illegible]

firmly administered, sufficient for all purposes; and events confirmed the wisdom of this constitutional resolve. He even declined the services of the Orangemen of Dublin to assist the authorities in the execution of their duties, when he considered that the employment of their services would have been offensive to the Roman Catholics, by reviving unpleasant recollections of past struggles and ancient animosities, and imparting to the contest the character of an attempt to re-establish "Protestant ascendancy." *Nan tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis tempus eget.* This dignified act of the Lord-Lieutenant, which all unprejudiced men approved, was deeply resented by the Orange leaders, and made the ground of attacks upon his excellency both in Parliament and the press. It was alleged that he had first courted the Orangemen of Dublin, and when he no longer required their aid, basely deserted them. His answer to the charge was shortly this: that instead of courting them, he knew nothing of the Orangemen of Dublin, but that a certain party existed under that name, until the 13th of March 1848, when he received a "copy" of a very proper and loyal address from persons connected with that party in Dublin, with sincere offers of unpurchasable loyalty and devotion to the Sovereign, and pledging themselves, in case their services were required at that crisis, to aid the authorities in the lawful execution of their duties in the suppression of anarchy and revolution. This was about three weeks after the revolution broke out in Paris—when Ireland was thrown into the seething state already described, by the acts of the war committees and political clubs—when an insurrection of these incendiaries seemed impending—when every day's post brought over intelligence of new casualties and violent changes on the continent—and there was no reason to expect that the capital of Ireland would have escaped the revolutionary contagion. But his excellency's atten-

tion having been called to certain resolutions passed by the Orangemen the same evening the above-mentioned address was adopted, and which he considered to be offensive to their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, he intimated that the address could not be received unless the resolutions were first withdrawn. The resolutions were not withdrawn, and the address was never received or answered.

It is the misfortune of every viceroy in Ireland, however popular his administration may have been at the outset, to find that the public favour endures but for a very brief period. Should he evince, or be suspected to evince, the slightest disposition to encourage the Popish party, he is at once assailed by the opposite faction as a conspirator in the interests of Rome against the cause of Protestantism in Ireland. On the other hand, let him shew the least leaning towards the Protestants, and the Romanists denounce him as the enemy of Ireland. But if he have the honesty and the firmness to execute the laws and administer the functions of government impartially, and without reference to individuals or parties, he is held up to opprobrium and detestation by all. The experience of the Earl of Clarendon forms an exception to that of previous viceroys, only in this, perhaps—that he had all the courage requisite for the occasion, and that throughout the five years of his government he was deterred by the clamours and revilings of neither party, nor of both combined, from persevering in the manly course upon which he had entered, to enforce the ordinary laws of the land, wisely and humanely to temper justice with mercy, and before the law to regard all men—peers, gentlemen, or peasants —as equal.

We now arrive at a period in the noble earl's rule which aptly illustrates this last remark. On the 12th of July 1849, being the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne, a public demonstration, to celebrate that event,

was made by the Orangemen of Ulster. They assembled at Ballyward, in the County Down—the members armed, the banners of the several lodges flying, bands of music at their head, and accompanied by all the usual "pomp and circumstance" of such demonstrations; and they proposed to march from that place, through a narrow defile in a neighbouring hill called "Dolly's Brae," to Castlewellan, and thence to Tollymore Park, the seat of the Earl of Roden, grand-master of the Orange lodges in Ireland. Threats having been uttered by the Roman Catholic party that the procession should not be allowed to march through the pass of Dolly's Brae, notice of the intentions of the Orangemen and of the sentiments expressed by the opposite faction was forwarded to the authorities at Dublin Castle, and the government sent down two stipendiary magistrates and two troops of cavalry with some infantry to Ballyward, whence the procession was to start on its route to Tollymore. To prevent the possibility of a collision occurring, a small body of troops despatched from Ballyward took possession of the pass at an early hour of the morning. Soon after there came marching towards it a numerous mob, armed with muskets, scythes, and pikes, whose object seemed to be to occupy the same position; but seeing the military in possession of the pass, they turned off and encamped on a ridge of ground in the vicinity. The Orange procession from Ballyward, preceded by the police and military, passed by their antagonists at Dolly's Brae, in good order and in peace, arriving without obstruction at Tollymore, where they were addressed by the Earl of Roden, in terms for which there were no grounds for complaint. They afterwards returned to Ballyward by the same road they had taken in the morning, and had nearly got through the pass of Dolly's Brae, which was still lined by the Ribandmen, when a squib was exploded from the midst of the latter, followed by two shots, and then the Riband host fired a

full volley upon the Orangemen and the police and military who accompanied the procession. A conflict ensued. A small body of police, about forty strong only, charged up the hill and drove the aggressors off the field. But not content with the victory thus achieved by the force appointed for their protection by the Government, the Orangemen proceeded to revenge themselves for this wanton and dastardly act; and in executing wild justice upon their opponents, they were guilty of firing houses, and, in one instance, of putting an inoffensive person to death. The Lord-Lieutenant thereupon issued a commission to inquire into the nature and extent of these transactions; and after the commissioners had prosecuted their investigations for some days, applications were made to the magistrates sitting in petty sessions at Castlewellan for informations against several Orangemen. These applications being refused, upon the recommendation of his excellency, the Earl of Roden (chairman) and two gentlemen of the name of Beer, the magistrates on the bench at Castlewellan, were dismissed from the commission of the peace. These occurrences furnished a pretext to Lord Stanley (now the Earl of Derby) to bring the whole question of the administration of the Government in Ireland before the House of Lords, on the 18th of February 1850, upon a motion for the production of papers relating thereto. In his address, the noble lord frankly admitted that on this, and on every other occasion during the period he had held his high office, the main desire of the Lord-Lieutenant had been to act in a manner consistent with his duty to himself, and conducive to the welfare of Ireland. But in terms of unmeasured severity he impugned his public conduct, and denounced his proceedings as erroneous and unconstitutional.

The Earl of Clarendon's reply to his assailant most triumphant vindication of his administr

affairs in the sister country. He protested against his presence there being drawn into a precedent for future viceroys quitting their post, and, at serious inconvenience to the public service, appearing in the House of Lords to defend an act of the Executive at the summons of any individual peer; and stated that he had done so then, because Lord Stanley, in giving notice of his motion, and the Earl of Roden, had both thrown out a challenge to him to appear in his place on that occasion, and he thought it might be unbecoming in him to decline it, or, at all events, his declining it might render his conduct liable to misconstruction. He further added that he had not determined to come until after much reflection. Lord Clarendon then proceeded to explain the provisions of the law of 1832 for restraining party processions in Ireland, described the course which preceding administrations had taken under its provisions, shewed that the measures he had adopted to prevent collisions at Dolly's Brae were alike discreet and necessary, justified himself for having recommended the Lord Chancellor to supersede the Earl of Roden and Messrs Beer in the commission of the peace, and announced that the whole of his proceedings had met with the approval of the Government in this country.

That approval had been signified by Her Majesty conferring the vacant ribbon of the Garter upon him in the previous year.

With regard to superseding the Earl of Roden and the Messrs Beer in the commission of the peace, the noble earl continued thus:—"My lords, I am not ashamed of saying that it was the most painful act of my life. I had long been honoured with the friendship of the noble earl. From the moment that I had gone to Ireland until then, I had received from him the most unvarying and useful kindness. I felt the most sincere respect and personal esteem for him. I knew how much his dismissal would be resented by his numerous

friends, and the unpopularity I should earn for myself, even among those who were not his friends, throughout the north of Ireland. I felt and I foresaw all that. But still there was one feeling superior to every other—a feeling of duty; a feeling from which I did not venture to shrink, and by which I need not assure your lordships I was alone actuated in the course that I adopted. Ever since the government of Ireland was confided to my care, my great object has been to render the law a reality;—to inspire all classes of the community with confidence in the impartial administration of justice; to convince them that before the law all men were equal, and that, whether high or low, rich or poor, the same measures of justice should be meted out to all. I should then, indeed, have felt ashamed of myself, and unworthy the confidence of my Sovereign, if I had dealt differently with the noble earl from any other man, or if I had allowed for one moment my personal inclinations to interfere with what I believed to be just and necessary. I fear, my lords, that the noble earl is of opinion that other and improper motives influenced me, because I have perceived in some of his answers to addresses that, besides characterising his dismissal in terms which to him, no doubt, appear just, he has stated that his dismissal was a blow aimed at Protestantism in his person; and that all Protestants were in danger, as there was a conspiracy to overthrow their religion. Now, passing by the total want of proof of this, either before or subsequent to the events of the 12th of July—and I will defy any unprejudiced man to adduce the slightest evidence of any such conspiracy—I must assure the noble earl that I yield to man in my attachment to the Protestant religion, and that I am as incapable as himself, not only of lending myself to any conspiracy, but to any act directly or indirectly militating against the true interests of the Protestant faith. But nothing can induce me to believe that the true in-

[illegible] of Protestantism, and the mild and pure doctrines of Christianity are not endangered by assemblages that are meant to intimidate, and by proceedings that must engender bitter and hostile and unchristian feelings among those classes of our fellow-countrymen from whose creed we differ, but whose conscientious feelings we are bound to respect, and have no possible right to outrage. The question of religion in politics no more entered into my mind in deciding upon the case of the noble earl, than if the occurrences which led to his dismissal had taken place in some sequestered village of England. The question simply was, whether the meeting was legal or illegal. Did the magistrates do their duty, or fail in their duty? Were sufficient precautions taken to prevent a breach of the peace? And if not, were they properly to be held responsible? That was the whole question; and I hope the noble earl will dismiss from his mind the idea that I was influenced by any considerations of a different character."

In the same speech, alluding to his refusal to arm the Orangemen, to which we have before adverted, the Earl of Clarendon said,—"It is perfectly true that my refusal to give arms did anger and dispirit many of the loyal and well-disposed subjects of her Majesty in Ireland. I was pressed to it by deputations, by individuals for whom I had the highest respect, and by every kind of threat and entreaty. It was the general desire at that time, and not unnaturally, for alarm was general and well founded. I believe also that the Government was blamed in this House for not consenting to call out the yeomanry, but as my noble friend at the head of her Majesty's Government left this matter to my decision, holding me responsible for the peace of the country, I resolutely refused all applications, though I took care to place upwards of one hundred thousand stand of arms in different depots throughout the country ready for distribution to the well affected.

in the event of emergency, according to certain regulations. But it was my duty to look beyond the actual moment, and I knew that if one class of Irishmen was armed against another the seeds of fresh religious animosity would be sown, and that when the revolutionary movement was over, Ireland would be found further off than ever from internal tranquillity. In the result I was not disappointed; for the intended rebellion was suppressed—the law was vindicated—no blood was spilled—no rancorous feelings were left behind. Her Majesty was, for the first time since her accession, able to visit that portion of her dominions; and had it not been for that one particular procession, and its fatal consequences, in the county Down, your lordships would now have the satisfaction of knowing that Ireland was more free from sectarian feuds, as I am happy to say it is from political agitation and agrarian outrage, than at any time during the last twenty years. On public grounds, I regret that my noble friend has seen fit to bring this question before the House, as it will tend to revive the angry feelings which were gradually subsiding; but, as I trust your lordships will give your assent to a bill which is now before the other House for putting an end to all processions—a bill, I beg to say, which is directed against no particular party, and will be a triumph to none—I look forward to the extinction of these foolish and irritating demonstrations, aided, as the law will be, by the efforts of every well-thinking man in Ireland. After all that unfortunate country has gone through, after years of agitation, destructive alike of industrial progress and social improvement, after having endured a calamity unparallelled for its appalling magnitude and duration, the great want of Ireland is repose. A famine of four years, sweeping away the resources and means of the country, must leave sad traces behind. But I humbly hope that the visitation of Providence has ceased, that

the world is now over, and that an earnest union of all classes for their own common good will lead to that social improvement with which the interests of this country, no less than those of Ireland, are inseparably connected."

The speech of the noble earl was received with unbounded applause. It was deemed a complete answer to the charges brought against him by Lords Stanley and John Russell, and a masterly vindication of the Irish executive. Lord Brougham expressed his estimate of it with an eloquence quite refreshing and impassioned. Turning to the Earl of Clarendon, the noble and learned lord exclaimed,—"For your sake were the object of their malice. For your sake! Oh feeble an expression! Of their enmity. For your sake! Of their profound admiration. For your sake! Of their deep and heartfelt respect—for the heart's core felt respect! Even that is not sufficient! For of their veneration: of their all-but adoration: and if their priests would permit it, even of their worship! With them, he who to-day was all but a god, in a very few weeks, before the moon waned, became the object of the deep, loud, and universal burst of vituperation! The idolaters became iconoclasts, broke their image to atoms, which they trampled under foot. All this afforded a strong ground for watching such a people's conduct, and in connexion with such a people, the conduct of their magistrates. . . . . I believe that, from the whole, substantial justice has been done in the case now under consideration, and that a right course has been pursued. I think that no objection whatever can be made to the conduct of my noble friend (the Earl of Clarendon), which, in my opinion, has been distinguished by great wisdom and perfect honour."

Public opinion out of doors echoed the sentiments thus expressed by Lord Brougham. The Liberal newspaper press was profuse in its eulogies of the noble

earl, and his triumphant defence afforded the artists employed on the satirical publications of the day a subject for some of their most humorous caricatures. On the accession of the Earl of Derby to the premiership in 1852, the Earl of Clarendon was succeeded in the government of Ireland by the Earl of Eglintoun; and upon the breaking-up of that ministry, the formation of the Aberdeen-Russell cabinet, the subsequent surrender by Lord John Russell of the Foreign Department, and his acceptance of a seat in the cabinet without office, the Earl of Clarendon received the appointment of Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Short as has yet been his tenure of office in this capacity, we have had the satisfaction of seeing him engaged in friendly intercession with foreign potentates on behalf of oppressed people. The recent iniquitous sequestrations of the property of Sardinian citizens by the Austrian authorities in Lombardy, have, at the request of the Sardinian Government, drawn forth strong representations from the noble earl to the Cabinet of Vienna upon the subject. He also followed up the remonstrances of his predecessors to the Grand Duke of Tuscany in favour of the Madiai, condemned to suffer a long term of imprisonment for "conscience' sake," but now, at length, through the intervention of successive English governments, happily set free.

# EARL GRANVILLE.

GRANVILLE GEORGE LEVESON GOWER, the second Earl Granville, and now President of the Council, was born in 1815, and is consequently now in his thirty-eighth year. His father was a younger brother of the first Duke of Sutherland, and having been early engaged in the diplomatic service, was by the Grey ministry in 1833 raised to the peerage, under the title which his son now enjoys. For a long time the first Earl Granville was our minister at Paris, and the present earl was for some time *attaché* to the embassy. He commenced public life in 1837, when he was returned member of Parliament for the borough of Morpeth. The borough is generally admitted to be under the influence of the Earl of Carlisle, between whom and Lord Granville a distant relationship exists through the present Duchess of Sutherland, who is sister to Lord Carlisle. His lordship did not distinguish himself in the House of Commons, and, in fact, a seat there does not seem to have been much to his taste, as he resigned it in 1840 to proceed as an *attaché* to the Russian embassy. At the general election of 1841 he was again returned, however, for the borough of Stafford; but still, though we believe he did on one or two occasions address the House, he did not make any great impression on that assembly. In 1846 his father died, and he was called to the Upper House. When the Whig ministry was formed in 1846, Lord Granville received an appointment, though one that was rather

suited to his rank than to the talents that he has since displayed. He was attached to her Majesty's household as master of the buckhounds. But he did not remain long in the obscurity of that position. It had been the object of Lord John Russell, on the first formation of his ministry, to include in it some of the leading members of the Anti-Corn-Law League. Mr Cobden was first applied to; but, as he declined, invitations were sent in other quarters, and finally Mr Milner Gibson, one of the members for Manchester, was appointed Vice-President of the Board of Trade. The appointment did not give much satisfaction on either side. Mr Gibson was inclined to proceed farther than the chiefs of his party in the cabinet thought was prudent; while he himself felt it impossible at the same time to give satisfaction to a numerous and Radical constituency like Manchester, and the cautious and perhaps timid members of the cabinet. The result was that Mr Gibson resigned his appointment in 1848, when Earl Granville was appointed in his place. Several sarcasms were directed against this appointment at the time, and the opposition journals made themselves merry at the facility with which a master of the buckhounds could be manufactured into an officer who required an extensive acquaintance with the trade and commerce of the country; but the result very speedily served to shew that the merriment in this case, at least, was wholly misplaced. He entered upon his new duties with great spirit and zeal, and speedily made himself master of them, giving great satisfaction to all whose business brought them in contact with him, as well by the knowledge he shewed of the different departments of the trade and commerce of the country as by the urbanity and kindliness of manner by which he was distinguished. The railway system came especially under his surveillance, and from his intimate acquaintance with the various interests, as

well as from the aptitude he shewed in mastering whatever was brought under his notice, and the patience with which he was ready to hear every statement, he was frequently chosen as umpire between contending parties. During his tenure of office the Great Exhibition was held in Hyde Park, and Earl Granville took a conspicuous part in the arrangements connected with its opening. His duties at the Board necessarily devolved such duties on him more than on any other member of the Government; and if the Exhibition had been, as it was at one time proposed, an affair under the control of the Government, the whole arrangements must have been made in Lord Granville's office. It is well known that another course was taken—that, by the almost unanimous wish of public meetings held throughout the country, it was determined that the whole affair, from first to last, should rest upon private responsibility, that the funds should be collected from the voluntary subscriptions of the people, and managed by a commission appointed under the royal seal. Of this commission, eminent as it was in members renowned for statesmanship, science, and art, Earl Granville was one, and, in compliment both to his office and to his own talents, he was made chairman of the executive committee. His exertions in the preparatory meetings that were held were extraordinary. It is well known that for some time after the plan was first suggested there was a visible apathy and coldness manifested towards it on the part of the people, and at one time, for months together, it remained in suspense whether the commissioners should not abandon the whole scheme in despair. At that time the exertions of Lord Granville were of the highest value in stimulating the flagging energies of those who were engaged in the task, and in endeavouring, through his official position at the Board of Trade, to create a feeling in its favour throughout the country. Next to His Royal Highness Prince Albert, who con-

tinued throughout the steadfast friend and patron of the Exhibition, that wonderful display of material wealth may be said to have been most indebted for its existence to the Earl Granville. Nor did his exertions cease when those early difficulties were removed. There came a time when the previous apathy was followed by a corresponding degree of enthusiasm. The people were at last thoroughly roused to regard it as one of national importance. The impulse was communicated to surrounding nations; and from all sides were communications offering suggestions, soliciting admission, or applying for room. It required no small amount of tact, ingenuity, and fertility in resource, to meet and satisfy the various claimants upon the attention of the commissioners; but the attention, patience, and readiness of invention displayed by his lordship were equal to the exigencies of the occasion; while the urbanity with which he listened to the various complaints, or the kindness with which he replied to them, were felt by more than one grumbler as ample satisfaction for all the grievances they came to complain of. When the great event was over, and when it was determined by the Parisian authorities, in the autumn of 1851, to invite the municipal authorities of London, and the Commissioners of the Exhibition, to a series of festivities in Paris, in return for the hospitality which had been shewn to their countrymen in England, Earl Granville was very properly recognised as the head of the Commissioners, and returned thanks at the grand banquet given at the Hotel de Ville, in the name of his colleagues, for the honour done to them, in a French speech which excited the admiration of the Parisians themselves, from the classical points of its idiom and its accent. It was admitted—and the admission may be taken as high praise from such fastidious critics—that his lordship might well have passed for a native Frenchman, reared in the first circles of Parisian society.

But another field was shortly to be opened to his lordship's talents. We have already adverted to the quarrel which took place in the winter of 1851, between Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, respecting the etiquette to be observed towards Her Majesty in submitting all foreign despatches to the Queen before they were sent off—an etiquette with which the veteran diplomatist was not always ready to comply. Earl Granville was speedily promoted from the post of President of the Board of Trade to that of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and it argues the favourable opinion which was now universally held of his talents, that his appointment to this responsible position, at a period of extraordinary difficulty in our relations with several foreign countries, was received by the people not only without disappointment, but with positive respect and approbation. His term of office in this position was too short to allow him to fix the impress of his policy upon our foreign relations; for the ministry of which he was a part left office in the spring of the following year. But in one respect he honourably distinguished himself. Just before his accession to the seals of office, the outrage on Mr Mather had occurred—an Englishman who, without provocation, was cut down in the streets of Florence by an officer of the Austrian army. Complaint was made at home, and in his despatches demanding redress, Earl Granville happily combined the dignified bearing of a British statesman with the mildness of his own personal disposition; and his despatches were quoted as models of what such compositions ought to be. On the accession of Lord Aberdeen's Government, he again accepted the office of President of the Board of Trade.

Earl Granville is not a frequent speaker, nor does he indulge in prepared orations. He makes no pretensions to a high order of eloquence—never indulges in flights of rhetoric—seldom ventures upon a metaphor; but in

a calm, clear, and level style, proceeds to expound his views. His strength lies in his good sense, in his sound judgment, in the perspicuity of his arguments, and in a graceful diction, with a clear and not unmusical voice, that lends a charm to his address. From the resources of a well-stored mind, enriched with extensive reading, digested by much thought and experience, he has always at his command abundance of illustrations; and when he rises, the listener may be sure of hearing the question fully discussed, the arguments of his opponents stated with fairness and met with moderation, and his own views urged with clearness, with power, and with ample illustrations drawn from the varied storehouse of history and experience. It is obvious, however, that Lord Granville's talents are more adapted for the council chamber than for the senate house, and that while his rhetorical powers do not rise above a respectable mediocrity, his administrative abilities, his sound sense, and his readiness of resource in difficulties, render him a valuable councillor and minister of state.

# THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

GEORGE JOHN DOUGLAS CAMPBELL, Duke of Argyll, Lord Privy Seal, and the youngest member of the cabinet, was born in 1823, and is consequently now in the 30th year of his age. His father was younger son of the fifth duke, and succeeded his brother in 1839. He was thrice married, and the present duke is the issue of his second wife, the daughter of John Glassel, Esq. He succeeded his father in the titles and estates of the family in the year 1847.

The house of Campbell is intimately bound up with the history of Scotland, and from the time of the Reformation downwards, it has occupied nearly the same space in the annals of the country as the house of Douglas did at an earlier period. First ennobled at a period so early as the reign of James I. in 1445, in the person of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochawe, they speedily acquired a preponderating influence throughout the whole of the Western Highlands of Scotland; and the family tree has given off so many branches, who have in turn taken root and flourished in the soil, that the name of Campbell is perhaps the most frequently to be met with among the gentry of Scotland. This, with the passion for the military life which is common to all the Highland clans, gave rise to Lockhart's witticism, when, in his novel of Adam Blair, he speaks of one of his characters as a member of that numerous tribe of the human family known as Captain Campbell.

The influence thus acquired by the family, who all felt bound, according to the feudal notions of the times, to adhere to the opinions of their chief, was uniformly, in later times, exercised in behalf of civil and religious liberty. In the time of Mary, the Earl of Argyll was one of the first of the Scottish lords to countenance the Reformation. The Earl of Argyll was put to death, at the Restoration of Charles II., in defiance of all principles of equity, for no other reason than that he had complied with Cromwell's Government, an offence which, as Hume remarks, was common to him with the whole nation. His son, the Marquis of Argyll, who had been allowed to preserve his father's titles and estates, followed in his footsteps; offered an uncompromising opposition to the arbitrary government of James II.; and failing in his attempt to excite an insurrection in the western parts of Scotland (which he had undertaken in concert with the Duke of Monmouth), he also was beheaded; and the heroic manner in which he met his death has been immortalised in the pages of Macaulay. His son and successor fell upon happier times. The attainder of the family was reversed at the Revolution; and King William farther advanced him to the dukedom,—honours which he well repaid to the state, by throwing the weight of his influence at the critical moment of Anne's death in favour of the succession of the house of Hanover; and by his services at the battle of Sheriffmuir, which, though indecisive in its immediate results, had the ultimate effect of preserving Scotland to the same family. Since that time the family of Argyll have invariably been identified with the Liberal party, so that it was felt in Scotland almost as a national shock when the last duke, the father of the present holder of the title, was announced to be a Tory. His Toryism was of a mild type, however, for the greater part of his life was spent in the retirement of a country gentleman; and when he

[illegible] in consequence of his brother's death in 1847, but may [illegible] mellowed his own politics and softened down its asperities, but the party in which he had [illegible] himself were even then giving indications of a gradual but decisive departure from the principles which had characterised their Tory predecessors.

Politics have at all times had their due share of interest in Scotland, but politics incomparably more. This has been the case at all periods of the country's history, but it was especially true of the time to which we are now referring. The Church of Scotland was then in the crisis of its fate: the Veto Act had been passed by the Church and challenged by the civil courts on grounds which apparently took from the Scottish courts every vestige of independent jurisdiction. The doctrine of state supremacy was maintained with a breadth and an emphasis that was sufficiently offensive even in the Scotch courts of law. Those unpopular grounds were reiterated with tenfold offensiveness in the judgments of the House of Lords. These judgments and the grounds on which they were delivered raised feelings throughout Scotland that could hardly have been expected. It was not the religious spirit alone that was stirred, though that was excited in all its strength, but the old national spirit of independence; feelings that had long been dormant, but were never extinguished, were also brought into play; and many a Scotchman took the part of the Scottish clergy for no other reason than because he could not endure that Scotland should on a Scottish matter receive the law from English judges. The question was debated at public meetings, in newspapers, and in pamphlets, of various degrees of religious feeling or constitutional research, which flew thick and fast throughout the land. Among these [illegible]phlets there was one which excited considerable

interest. It bore the title of *A Letter to the Peers, by a Peer's Son*, and it was speedily understood to be from the pen of the Marquis of Lorn, then only in his nineteenth year. His lordship handled the question both in a religious and a constitutional point of view; and, contrary to the opinions that were then prevalent in the circle with which he was conversant, he came to the conclusion that, both on the question of religion and of constitutional law, the Church of Scotland was justified in all her demands. Of course, there were in this pamphlet many marks of immaturity of genius; but, what was of far more consequence, there were also unmistakeable marks of a fine imagination, a nervous and vigorous style, and a manly sympathy with the weaker party. When, a very short time afterwards, the then majority in the Church of Scotland left the Establishment and organised the body now known as the Free Church, the marquis did not think it his duty to go with them to that extent; but, we believe, he has ever since continued on friendly terms with the clergymen and the leaders of that body.

It is probable that these convulsions and revolutions in the Established Church of his native country gave the duke some distaste towards a close connexion with either of the parties with which the kingdom was at that time divided. His religious principles began to develop themselves in somewhat of an eclectical direction, associating with good men by whatever name they might be called, but without closely identifying himself with any. Still he remained at least a Presbyterian, and of this he gave a remarkable proof, in his publication, in the year 1849, of a work entitled *Presbytery Examined*, an essay on the ecclesiastical history of Scotland since the period of the Reformation. The work, we believe, was originally intended merely as a review of some ultra-Episcopal publications which had just before made their appearance in Scotland; but as

the materials expanded under his hand, he gave up the idea of producing a few pages only for a periodical, and published a bulky volume. The work had merit enough of its own to attract general attention. It was clearly and nervously written, and shewed an intimate acquaintance with the subject of which it professed to treat;—that it was written by a peer of the highest rank was, of course, an equally strong title to attention. Such a work, by such an author, was sure to excite controversy. He by no means spared the Episcopalian leaders in the times of Charles and James II., who, indeed, differed little in atrocity from the Haynaus and Radetzkys of modern times; and the modern Scottish Episcopalians, thinking their honour involved in that of their ancestors, attacked him with great asperity and violence of language. There were no fewer than six separate replies published to his essay, besides the smaller reviews in periodical organs. But the most ludicrous effusion of polemical rage was that manifested by the Bishop of Glasgow, who, on the strength of the duke having once communicated in an Episcopal Church when at Paisley, chose to hold him as a member of the body, and then proceeded, with all the forms of solemnity borrowed from the Church of Rome, to excommunicate him from the communion of the faithful. The affair only served to excite the laughter of the public in general, at the expense of the over-zealous bishop; though there were not wanting "grave livers in Scotland," who, having observed with vexation the coquettings of the duke with the Episcopalians, and mindful of the dying words of his great ancestor, could not look with complacency on the names of Argyll and Episcopacy being associated together, and were not sorry, therefore, that his advances to that form of religion should be thus rudely repelled. Ever since that time the duke has attached himself closely to the Established Church of his native country.

But the time of the duke has not been taken up solely with polemical questions. His father died soon after he came of age; so that, unfortunately perhaps for himself, he had not an opportunity of obtaining a seat in the House of Commons, or of acquiring experience in debate in that arena which supplies rougher and more effective practice than the House of Lords can afford. He took his seat in the House of Lords on his father's death in 1847, and in May of the following year he delivered his first speech on the motion for the second reading of the bill for admitting the Jews to Parliament. His speech made a great impression on the House, presenting, as it did, a defence of the measure on religious rather than political grounds. He commenced by disclaiming all sympathy with certain opinions that had been put forth—by none more effectively than by Mr Macaulay—that Christianity had nothing to do with the making of the laws of a country. He showed, in a strain of clear argument, enforced by an easy flowing and natural eloquence, that Christianity lay at the root of all that was just, and right, and true; and that the nation which systematically excluded Christianity from its laws must end in speedy ruin. At the same time, he could not agree with the opponents of the measure, that Christianity consisted in a mere set of forms and symbols, compliance with which was to be secure, and refusal exclude, admission to the legislature. On the contrary, he maintained that Christianity would be best manifested by abolishing all invidious distinctions which excluded any citizen from offices in the offices and distinctions of the state, and by maintaining the right of the constituencies of the empire to their free choice of whatever representatives they pleased to select. The speech was received with great favour in the House, and the duke was at once hailed as one of the most promising ornaments of which the age could boast. Having thus taken his place as a speaker,

he was not slow to follow up the impression he had made. He spoke frequently on various occasions, but chiefly on those connected with Scottish subjects. Though he usually sat on the opposition benches while the ministry of Lord John Russell was in office, yet his speeches and his votes were almost uniformly given in favour of their policy. To the subject of free-trade he always gave a consistent and an enlightened support. The struggle was keen, indeed, and the victory was won, before he had an opportunity of taking in the same; but from his earliest appearance in the House of Lords he took every opportunity for expressing his adherence to the commercial policy adopted by Sir Robert Peel. The question of admitting foreign sugar found in him a warm supporter. And when, in 1849, an amendment to the address was moved by the Earl of Derby, on the ground of the sufferings which the agricultural interests were at that time called to endure, he first made one of the most effective speeches of that debate against the amendment, and shewed, from a number of instances which he had collected, that, as a whole, the operations of free-trade had not been unfavourable to the Scottish farmers; and that, taken as a body, that class had no desire for a reversal of the present system.

When the nation was roused by the Papal aggression in 1851, the Duke of Argyll took a prominent part in the discussion of the measures which were brought forward to meet it. It was from his place in the senate, however, that he combated it, rather than from the platform of a public meeting. Indeed, some of the movements of the Protestant side were as distasteful to him as those of the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman. When, for instance, the Bishop of Oxford summoned his clergy, and laid before them a protest against the Papal usurpation, couched in a style which savoured rather of the pretensions of a rival Pope than

of a Protestant prelate, the Duke of Argyll published a letter addressed to him, rebuking the arrogance of his assumptions, and pointing out the inconsistency of his pretensions with the true position of a Protestant Church. But when the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill came before the House of Lords, in the summer of that year, he gave his warm support to the measure, and shewed, in a speech of great power, how the bull of the Pope trenched upon the independence of the country, and how resistance to these arrogant decrees of a foreign power was in no way inconsistent with a full regard for the principles of civil and religious liberty.

During the short-lived administration of the Earl of Derby, the Duke of Argyll went into opposition, but circumstances did not call upon him to take any prominent part. When Lord Aberdeen received a call from Her Majesty to form a ministry, he at once offered the Duke of Argyll the appointment of Lord Privy Seal, an appointment which was a remarkable testimony to the impression his talents had made upon his contemporaries; for it is to be noticed that the duke had never attached himself to either of the great parties, but had maintained throughout his career a perfectly independent course.

The scientific acquirements of the duke must not be omitted. He has devoted a large share of his time to the study of practical geology, and with considerable success. When the British Association for the advancement of science was last at Edinburgh, he read a paper on the subject which excited great attention in that learned body, and it is understood that he has himself made discoveries of some valuable minerals on his own extensive but rocky domains. His literary taste is also, as shewn in his works, fine and classical, and shewing a sympathy with excellence in every department of literature. In the characteristics which so honourably distinguish the men of rank of the present

day—that of giving lectures to the working classes—the Duke of Argyll has not been backward. In the spring of 1852 he delivered a lecture to the members of the Athenæum Institute at Glasgow, on "The Importance of Literature to Men of Business," in which he controverted at some length an unfortunate *dictum* of Mr Cobden, that the reading of a newspaper now-a-days was as good mental discipline as the perusal of all the works of Thucydides. On a later occasion in the same year, he took a leading part in a public meeting which was held at Edinburgh for the improvement of the condition of the working classes, and in his speech he shewed, not only the wisest insight into the condition of those classes, but a full appreciation of many of the difficulties with which they have to struggle.

As a politician, the Duke of Argyll has been among the first to take up a position in which we may reasonably suppose he will yet have many followers—we mean the combination of strong religious feelings with a full recognition of the principles of religious liberty. Most liberal politicians, whatever their own personal religious sentiments may be, have argued the question of religious liberty as a political one—have dwelt on the right of all citizens to share in the honours as in the duties of the state, and have put religion on one side, as having nothing to do with the matter. Many religious men of great worth have, on the other hand, made their own religious views a reason for refusing equal rights and privileges to persons who have differed from themselves. It remained for the duke to shew—and he has hitherto done it with great power—that the spirit of religion itself is averse to all measures of exclusion on account of difference of opinion; that Christianity involves in it the highest idea of justice, and is therefore opposed to all measures of civil disabilities or penalties for religious opinions; but while are entitled to justice, they are entitled to

no more. Hence his opposition to the Papal aggression, when Lord Aberdeen and others were inclined to allow that act of a foreign prince to pass without remonstrance. In these times, when questions partaking of a partly religious and political character are likely to come frequently before the legislature, it is of some importance to the nation that it possesses in the Duke of Argyll a statesman who has so thoroughly studied and so completely mastered those deeply interesting questions.

It remains only to add, that the Duke of Argyll married, in 1844, the eldest daughter of the Duke of Sutherland, by whom he has several children.

# SIR CHARLES WOOD.

THE present President of the Board of Control is the third baronet of his family, the title having been granted to an uncle of his father in 1784, with remainder to the heirs-male of his brother, in right of which the present baronet enjoys the title. He is of a Yorkshire family, and his seat is at Hickleton Hall, near Doncaster.

Sir Charles Wood was born in the year 1800, and is consequently now in his fifty-third year. He was first returned for the Lincolnshire borough of Great Grimsby in 1826, on the Whig interest. In 1831 he lost that seat, but found another at Wareham in Dorsetshire; when the franchise was conferred on the new borough of Halifax by the Reform Bill, he offered himself as a candidate there, was accepted, and has managed to retain the confidence of his constituents ever since.

In 1829 he married Mary, the ninth child of the late and sister of the present Earl Grey. To this alliance may be traced much of the advancement he has since attained, as well as the course which he has taken in his political career. His first introduction to official life was in 1830, when his father-in-law, on accepting the office of prime minister, appointed him to be his private secretary. In 1832, on the occurrence of a vacancy, he was appointed one of the secretaries to the Treasury, and held that situation till the Whigs went out of office in 1834. On their restoration, he was pro-

ted to the more important post of Secretary to the

Admiralty, and held it for four years. While in this position, the important duty devolved upon him of moving, explaining, and defending the estimates for the navy in the House of Commons, as the first Lord of the Admiralty was during the whole of his official career a member of the House of Lords. His conduct while in that office gave general satisfaction; his verbal expositions of the state of the navy were not perhaps very clear, but his accounts were arranged in a lucid and methodical manner, and the reforms which, from time to time, he effected in that department, shewed that he possessed considerable administrative skill. It was, therefore, to the surprise of many persons when, in 1839, Sir Charles, following the lead of his brother-in-law, Lord Howick, who at that time held the office of Secretary at War, resigned his appointment, and left the Whig ministry.

There was no particular quarrel that led to this resignation. It was the last of a series of defections that had been taking place among the friends and supporters of the Melbourne cabinet from the first formation to that time. The alliance or *quasi* union that had taken place between the Government and Mr O'Connell—then in the height of his popularity in Ireland, while he was in the same degree disliked in this country—had offended many sincere Whigs; and one and another of them dropped off from the ranks of the ministerial supporters, and approached, with more or less of reluctance, to the ranks of the Conservatives, then rapidly forming into a compact body under the influence of Sir Robert Peel. The catastrophe to be expected from this state of things had issued in the course of the preceding session, when the ministry, beaten in an attempt to suspend the constitution of Jamaica, in consequence of the assembly of that island having in an obstinate fit stopped the supplies, resigned office, but were recalled a few days afterwards, in consequence of Sir Robert Peel refusing to

accept the administration unless he were allowed to dismiss the ladies of the bed-chamber, which Her Majesty was at that time unwilling to agree to. The Whigs, therefore, returned to power, and it became a question among them what steps should be taken to recruit their fast thinning ranks. Lord Howick with Sir Charles Wood was in favour of making an attempt to recall the deserters, by the announcement of a policy which, while it promised a vigorous course of social and administrative reform, refused to revise the representation, or to attempt organic changes. The decision of the cabinet was the other way, that a closer alliance should be formed with the more advanced of the liberal party. Lord Howick finding his advice thus rejected, retired from the ministry, followed by Sir Charles. The wits of the day, ever ready to find matter for ludicrous associations in the movements of statesmen, compared Lord Howick, on this occasion, to Robinson Crusoe, followed in every step he took by Sir Charles Wood as his faithful Man Friday.

It was announced by the relatives, that their retiring from office would not interrupt their friendly relations with their former colleagues, and that they would still continue to support their general policy. The promise was made good soon afterwards, on a motion of want of confidence in the ministry, which was made in 1840, when Sir Charles Wood and Lord Howick both supported the ministry, and the motion was defeated. But it was hardly to be expected that such a state of things would long continue. Soon afterwards, a question arose for the amendment of the Irish system of registration, which had fallen into a state that was disgraceful to the country. The Government brought in one measure of reform—Lord Stanley brought in another, which was in a high degree distasteful to the Irish representatives in Parliament. He pressed it, however, and Sir Charles Wood and Lord Howick, by their

vacillating conduct on the question, supporting now this side, and now that, did much to complicate the relations of parties, and to facilitate the return of the Conservatives to power. It is a strong evidence of the rancour of party animosity at that time, that the Irish registration, which was then denounced as a disgrace to the country that allowed it to exist for a single day, was nevertheless left in its objectionable state, each party finding that it was unable to carry its measure in opposition to the other, was afterwards allowed to remain in its wretched condition through the whole five years of Sir Robert Peel's period of office, with a majority of ninety at his back, and was not finally put on a satisfactory footing till Lord John Russell's return to power.

During the period of Sir Robert Peel's ministry, Sir Charles Wood continued in a state of comparative quiet. His brother-in-law was removed to the House of Lords, and Sir Charles himself gradually drew nearer to the party from whom he had before separated, till all traces of disagreement having ever existed between them were removed. This was manifested when, at the end of 1845, Sir Robert Peel resigned office, in order to allow the Liberal party to carry the repeal of the Corn Laws, which he and they were now agreed ought to be done. At that time, the return of the Whigs to power was frustrated, in consequence of Lord Howick, now Earl Grey, refusing to join a cabinet in which Lord Palmerston was Foreign Secretary, while Lord Palmerston himself refused to take any other office. The attempt to form a Whig Government failed, therefore, at that time; and to Sir Robert Peel was reserved the lasting honour of repealing a system of restrictive laws which had formed a source of heartburning to the people for more than a quarter of a century. But though the attempt to form a Liberal Government was at that time prevented by the opposition of Lord Grey to the arrange-

ments proposed, it ought to be noted that Sir Charles Wood no longer acted in combination with him. On the contrary, he caused it to be intimated, that on this matter he sided with his party rather than with his relation.

When Lord John Russell's Government was formed in 1846, Sir Charles Wood was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. Up to this time he had given some attention to questions of finance, and he had acquired some distinction among the initiated few by the part he had taken in various committees of finance, but his name was not much before the public in connexion with that important department of government, and his appointment was therefore regarded with some suspicion, some going so far as to say that Sir Charles was the weakest member of the Russell cabinet. Apparently these censures were justified by the frequent changes which took place in the financial schemes which from year to year Sir Charles brought before the House. But now that some time has elapsed since the criticism on his budgets, and the whole of his plans lie before us for a calm judgment, it would seem that the right-honourable baronet deserved more credit for his skill as a financier than he has ever yet received credit for. He certainly had to contend with unexampled difficulties. Scarcely was he settled in office when the Irish famine rose to such a height as to baffle all ordinary means of meeting the calamities, and Sir Charles was obliged to add ten millions to the debt of the country in order to keep millions from actual starvation. The negotiations which issued in borrowing this sum were the least of his difficulties. There was the machinery to be created for its distribution, which required to be arranged in such a way that the money so provided should actually go to the relief of the people, and not by a series of manœuvres be obbed into the pockets of the Irish landlords. And

these steps were to be taken on the instant, for, while the Government deliberated, the people were starving. Scarcely had this appalling difficulty been surmounted, when the stagnation of trade and the general want of confidence in mercantile solvency—generated very much by the reckless manner in which railways had been pushed on towards completion, absorbing more capital than the business of the country could spare—produced their natural consequence, and created panic on the stock exchange. So scarce did money become, or rather so reluctant were its holders to part with it, that the most undoubted securities failed to procure it. The rate of discount rose to an enormous height, and even at these terms money was scarcely to be had, while the Bank of England was restrained by its charter from issuing bank notes beyond the amount of bullion which was in its coffers, a limit which the number of notes then in circulation was rapidly approaching. This restriction on the Bank's issues was one of the provisions of the celebrated currency measure of Sir Robert Peel; as such it had gained the assent of the great majority of capitalists and financiers, and, among others, of Sir Charles Wood himself; but, in the emergency which was then at hand, it began to be felt that there was no rule without an exception, and that the then existing monetary crisis demanded extraordinary measures. To add to the difficulties of the occasion, the panic occurred in the autumn of 1847, when the Parliament was not sitting; the ministers were therefore compelled to act on their own responsibility. Lord John Russell and Sir Charles Wood, accordingly, after consulting with the authorities at the Bank, authorised that body to take a step which would violate the law, that is to say, they were permitted to issue notes to a certain amount beyond the amount of bullion in their coffers, on the understanding that all

ments proposed, ...y such means should ... Wood no longer ... r cent.—half ... contrary, he ... ie compl... he sided w... in ... When ... ... in 184... ...equired. of the ...e that the Bank of ... atte... was prepared to act on the p... ... money, restored confidence at once; pr... ... who had been keeping their capital hoarded up ...w came freely into the market, the rate of discount fell to its natural state, and confidence was restored. And all this without the Bank of England having been required to advance a single note beyond what "Peel's Act" permitted it to do; so that when the Parliament met in 1848, the Government were enabled to announce that, though they had contemplated and authorised a violation of the law, and were prepared to ask Parliament for a bill of indemnity, yet that, as in point of fact no violation of the law had taken place, they had nothing to explain or to justify, and they had no bill of indemnity to ask for. And so obviously judicious had the measure been in its principle and in its consequences, that there was not a single member of Parliament who presumed to censure the course the Chancellor of the Exchequer had taken.

But 1848 brought difficulties of its own. The panic of the previous year, the stagnation in trade, now aggravated by the revolutions which were taking place in France and other continental countries, and the dire effects of the potato failure, which still continued to be felt—had caused a great falling off in the revenue, so that the expenditure was considerably above the income of the year. There were two ways of remedying that state of things—one by reducing the expenditure, the other by increasing the income. Sir Charles chose the

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This was still more decided in the following year, when
the balance in the national exchequer was upwards of
two millions sterling. Here, then, was an opportunity
for the reduction of taxation; and out of the claims
which the different interests in the country presented
for a remission of burdens, all of them greatly clamor-
ous for relief, Sir Charles selected two taxes, which,
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other the duty on stamp receipts. The first was to be
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There was no opposition made to the removal of the
brick duty; but the modification of the stamp duties

advances made to merchants by such means should be charged at the rate of eight per cent.—half the profits to go to the Government. The complete success of this stroke of policy was shewn in the fact that the breach of the currency law, which the Government letter authorised, was never required. The mere promulgation of the notice that the Bank of England was permitted, and was prepared to act on the permission, to advance money, restored confidence at once; private parties who had been keeping their capital hoarded up now came freely into the market, the rate of discount fell to its natural state, and confidence was restored. And all this without the Bank of England having been required to advance a single note beyond what "Peel's Act" permitted it to do; so that when the Parliament met in 1848, the Government were enabled to announce that, though they had contemplated and authorised a violation of the law, and were prepared to ask Parliament for a bill of indemnity, yet that, as in point of fact no violation of the law had taken place, they had nothing to explain or to justify, and they had no bill of indemnity to ask for. And so obviously judicious had the measure been in its principle and in its consequences, that there was not a single member of Parliament who presumed to censure the course the Chancellor of the Exchequer had taken.

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latter, and brought forward his budget for that year with a plan which increased the income tax from three to five per cent. But the country was at that time in no mood to have an increase of taxation; and a general remonstrance against this additional impost was heard from all classes of the community. Sir Charles, to use his own language as applied to Mr D'Israeli, was wise enough to take back his budget; and the country was tranquillised by the announcement that, by a rigid revision of all the different items of expenditure, a sufficient sum would be saved to render an increase of taxation unnecessary. This involved the abandonment of a scheme which has since been carried out, the restoration of the old militia force of the country, a measure which several Governments tried in vain, till Lord Derby's Government seemed expressly called in to perform the work. In the year 1849, the same system of economy was practised, and as the series of unfortunate circumstances seemed now to be exhausted, and the nation to reap the benefit of the free-trade measures which had been passed, the revenue began to overtop the expenditure, and, for the first time in his term of office, the chancellor was in possession of a surplus. This was still more decided in the following year, when the balance in the national exchequer was upwards of two millions sterling. Here, then, was an opportunity for the reduction of taxation; and out of the claims which the different interests in the country presented for a remission of burdens, all of them greatly clamorous for relief, Sir Charles selected two taxes, which, in his opinion, bore hardly upon the springs of trade and industry,—the one was the duty on bricks, the other the duty on stamp receipts. The first was to be wholly abolished, the other to be greatly reduced. There was no opposition made to the removal of the brick duty; but the modification of the stamp duties

gave rise to long, tedious, and harassing debates, in which the inconvenience to a ministry arising from the want of a good working majority was strongly manifested. A demand was made for a farther reduction of these duties than Sir Charles declared the revenue could spare; but the opposition was too powerful for him; the budget was, as it were, taken out of his hands, altered and modified at pleasure, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer reduced to the humiliation of accepting his own measures from his opponents, greatly changed, in his opinion, for the worse, and yet of allowing it to pass with these alterations. It must be added, that time has shewn the House of Commons took a more correct view of the question than the minister; no public inconvenience has arisen from the low rates fixed for these stamps—the revenue derived from them is fast approaching the point at which it stood before the reduction—while the benefit to the commercial part of the community has never been gainsaid.

A still more important step was taken in 1850. The prosperous state of the revenue still continued—the economical management of the various national establishments was still unimpaired—and the consequence was another surplus of income over expenditure, and another call for deliberation as to which of the taxes was most oppressive, and most required revision. But at this time the temper of the country hardly allowed room for deliberation. There was one tax which was specially obnoxious to the middle classes of the community. The window tax was almost the only one of those assessed taxes which, having been laid on by Pitt during the war, had up to this time escaped repeal, though not without remonstrance. For years the inhabitants of several large towns, where the tax embraced larger numbers than in the country districts, had remonstrated against the continuance of this impost.

The metropolitan districts took the lead in the agitation, and every year a motion was made for the removal of the impost. Hitherto the finance minister had steadily resisted the repeal; having little to say in favour of the tax, however, except that the revenue was not in a condition to bear the loss of upwards of a million a year. But now that the revenue shewed such decided signs of elasticity, the clamours of the towns and the remonstrances of those members who formed the strongest supporters of the Government, could no longer be put off, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was compelled to take their demands into consideration. Even then, the whole amount of the tax could not be spared; but Sir Charles Wood proposed to make up the difference by the imposition of a house tax, which all writers on finance agreed was a tax as much consistent with justice as the mere assessment on the number of windows contained in a house was arbitrary and inequitable. The chancellor proposed, therefore, that the window tax should be altogether repealed, and that, in its place, there should be levied a house tax, consisting of one shilling per pound on the rent of shops, and one shilling and sixpence on the rent of dwelling-houses. But here, again, the opposition in the House of Commons interfered, and the public reaped the benefit. The metropolitan districts, indeed, held meetings and passed resolutions that no settlement of the question could be satisfactory which substituted one tax for another; but when the terms of the substitution were made known, little more was heard of opposition from this source. A strong opposition was mustered, however, against the rate of taxes for the new house duty; and, after a considerable struggle, the chancellor was once more compelled to surrender his plans and yield to a reduction in the rates, which were finally fixed at one shilling for dwelling-houses, and ninepence for shops. This settle-

ment gave general satisfaction, and one source of irritation, which used to be felt as an annual grievance in large towns, has been taken away.

This operation closed Sir Charles Wood's financial achievements, among which we have not mentioned the reduction of the sugar duties, because to that reduction the ministry stood pledged before they came into office. It was upon the question of reducing the duties on foreign sugar that Lord John Russell went out in 1841; it was, therefore, naturally the first measure he undertook when he returned to power in 1846; and so much was his mind made up on this point, that, without waiting for the leisure of a recess, and within a very few weeks of taking office, Lord John Russell brought forward his measure. Still it must not be forgotten that the plan of reduction, which was to operate gradually, the duty falling a few shillings every year for the subsequent five years, required very complicated details, based upon elaborate calculations; and these details and calculations all fell to the share of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. So was it in the following year, when the distress of the West Indian planters rose to such a height that the Government was reluctantly compelled for a time to suspend the operation of the annual fall of the duty on foreign sugar, and to spread the reduction over a longer term of years; the change imposed upon the finance minister a vast amount of labour, arising out of the complication of details, which circumstances rendered necessary. That labour was well bestowed, however; the reductions, though complained of at the time as worthless, were found to answer their purpose; the blessing of cheap sugar was preserved to the community, and it is now admitted on all hands that the West Indians have not suffered by the change.

In 1852, Sir Charles Wood retired from office with his party, and during the remainder of that session he

took little part in the discussions. When Mr D'Israeli brought forward his budget at the close of that year, it was unsparingly assailed by many opponents—by none more than by Sir Charles Wood, who went through all the items contained in it, shewing up their weak parts, and mercilessly lashing the defects of the whole scheme. And upon none did Mr D'Israeli more fiercely retort than upon his predecessor, whose budgets, it must be owned, had not been fortunate in securing, in all their details, the approbation of the House of Commons. So far did he proceed in this retaliation—so personal did he become—that on the following evening, when announcing his resignation of office, he made a voluntary apology for any harshness which the heat of debate might have betrayed him into on the previous evening. The apology was accepted in the same graceful spirit that it was tendered, and so the matter dropped. When the ministry of Lord Aberdeen was formed, Sir Charles accepted the post of President of the Board of Control, and the important task now devolves on him of devising a scheme for the future government of India.

Sir Charles Wood is always listened to with great attention in the House. This does not arise from any graces of oratory, in which respect nature has been rather niggardly to him. His elocution is not graceful—his method is not clear—his voice is not good. He evidently comprehends a subject in his own mind better than he can explain it to others, and hence arises a repetition and redundance of remarks that obscure the subject they were meant to illustrate. But those who will take the trouble to bear with these defects are often repaid by the breadth and comprehensiveness of his views, the perfect mastery of his subject which he has evidently obtained, and a felicitous knack he has of illustrating his subject by an analogy which at once

strikes by its justness, and amuses by its homeliness. In this respect, though in few others, he resembles Mr Cobden. He has neither his fluency of speech, his short, nervous, idiomatic phrases, nor that marvellous grasp of his subject which the Anti-Corn-Law leader possesses; but, like him, he delights in finding illustrations and analogies on subjects that are drawn from common life, and which, therefore, come home to the feelings of every one of his audience.

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